

**MICROSOFT
HIGH**
P.51



CONRAD AND BARBARA

He's wicked! She's a shrew! Mark Steyn says CTV's prime-time movie has an extravagance that knows no bounds P.62



**Which
Liberal
can beat
Harper?**
P.28

MACLEAN'S



DEC.
11th
2006

250,000 are already dead. Now the genocide is raging beyond Darfur. Millions are in danger. The West won't intervene. Our leaders say there's nothing we can do.

LOOK AWAY

P.34



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Liberal Leadership '06 Our team in Montreal brings you up-to-the-minute news and analysis as Liberals choose their new boss. Watch for our special convention blog: www.macleans.ca/liberal
Photo Gallery Photographer Donald Weber portrays the ongoing tragedy in Chad's refugee camps: www.macleans.ca/darfur
Capital Diary Outtakes Columnist Michael Rappaport offers an extra dose of Ottawa buzz: www.macleans.ca/capitaldiary
Weekly Update Scott Preschke offers his unique take on each day's headlines: www.macleans.ca/weekly



J.M. FLAHERTY'S Advantage Canada plans the federal aid to reshape our fiscal future

Defining a nation with dollars and cents

For the past week, questions of nationhood have dominated Parliament. What is a nation? Does Canada represent itself? Does Canada? It's all provided good fodder for this country's hottest debate, but chances are a decade from now, we'll look back on the nationhood issue as a minor sideshow to the real transformation foretold in the new tax law.

It's been said many times that speeches don't define governments, budgets do. You can tell what a society believes in by where it puts its money. And last week, the Harper Conservative put dollar signs next to principles and gave Canadians a glimpse of where they intend to lead the country. It's nothing out of extraordinary change.

In contrast to the recent Canadian political tradition of annual "surprise" budget windfalls, distributed across a broad range of spending initiatives, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty has laid out a 15-year blueprint for fiscal management built on a foundation of realistic forecasting, debt repayment and small government, with an overarching goal of improving Canadian prosperity and competitiveness for the long haul. Flaherty's Advantage Canada strategy promises to use federal surpluses to pay down the country's net public debt to zero by 2013.

That will produce billions of dollars in interest savings that will be used for personal and corporate tax cuts—enough to establish in Canada the lowest tax rates among G7

nations. Program spending will rise, but the new money will be aimed almost exclusively at enhancing Canada's economic performance, in areas such as high tech research and development, and infrastructure improvements. Taxes that provoked thousands of low-income Canadians from moving a flimsy tent and into the workforce will disappear, as will domestic trade barriers. National regulatory regimes will replace cumbersome provincial enforcement.

Flaherty, in short, has committed his government to a set of principles that will guide future fiscal decisions making—an intention being to bring that, if fully followed, could enhance Canada's standard of living for generations to come.

There are many blind spots to be filled. The plan depends on the co-operation of provincial governments, and several details remain vague. Liberal Finance critic John McCallum derided Flaherty's "smug pursuit," saying "the Conservatives are not talking to us but with a genuine concern plan." That may be a fair criticism, but only if the Liberalists have a contrasting vision to offer. Over more than a decade in power, they never articulated any guiding economic philosophy beyond ensuring balanced budgets. The party's current mix of leadership candidates, more than open to discuss issues of nationhood, are remarkably a lot of confused notions, committing themselves to only the most general of principles. It's as though they're convinced Canada will be defined by their words rather than their wretched tax money. ■

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*Fletcher BM, Pfeiffer EM. Vitamin use for Chronic Disease Prevention in Adults. JAMA. 2003;289:3127-3129.



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'You missed the best example of women who win Oscars only to end up single. Jane Wyman.'



OH CANADA

AS A LONG-TIME SUBSCRIBER, I believe your story about our darling country ("How to Pin Canada," Cover, Nov. 27) was a timely and well-timed example of the dangers we face if we don't soon wake up to our shortcomings. I am a senior and I am still working in a productive job on our nation's capital. I would like to cite two examples in Ottawa that surely do not exist in any other G8 nations. The first is our warm and sunny airport on the way to work on late highway six bumper to bumper traffic. Well, they block away from Parliament Hill, we have a semi-trailer stuck right through the heart of the city. No wonder Canada is slipping. Joseph A. Belonger, Ottawa

SURELY YOU HAVE provided misleading statistics to verify your article. The GDP of a country is certainly not as logical a measure of how well it is doing as is the GDP per person. The latter tells us how the average citizen fares, and if this number is taken into account, Canada does very well indeed in fact, according to the 2006 World Almanac figures, considering the 14 countries with the world's largest economies, Canada, at a GDP of \$31,500 per person, is second only to the U.S. at \$46,100. The UN has declared Canada the country with the finest quality of life in the world of the past 20 years. Finally, I'd like our magnificent country over any other place on our dear wonderful planet.

IN THIS REPORT, Maclean's gets the bulk of this nation's wealth is created in the cities. I don't "crave" in the wrong word. Real wealth can only be created by the harvesting or mining of raw materials. The service and services can only exist after the raw materials are brought into the economy. The mineral sector, in fact, on our wealth and the urban waste management and recycling. Furthermore, I think this report promotes urbanization, which is not a sustainable scenario for a society. Currently, cities are the source of pollution, and self-sufficient human systems are essential. Putting rural Canada on the back burner will only make the urban areas worse, unless, of course, one free trade plan allows importing raw materials. Then we would have a true knowledge-based economy with no physical assets or collateral. Garnett Dubois, Regina

INCLUDING THE STORY on dealing with China ("The China dilemma," National, Nov. 27) and the "How to Pin Canada" issue requires a more appropriate Canada needs to take steps to prepare itself for the future. A major objective should be to transform NAFTA into an entity analogous to the EU, where Mexican workers might move north to Canadian factories rather than Canadian corporations out sourcing production to Mexico and other countries. There is little doubt that, over the long term, China is going to take over the world's economy and will soon displace North America. Canada should follow an official foreign policy and not serve as a scapegoat for a largely foreign-born and foreign-born citizenry. Alan S. Berger, Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington



THIS ARTICLE'S UNBOLD warning is right on the mark. We Canadians might brag about how we are "green" but, sadly, we are causing an increase in carbon dioxide and other pollutants that are going into our atmosphere. The article was especially timely here in B.C., where the power that be are planning to allow two coal-burning power generation plants to be built. This is in the face of intelligent planning in provinces that has an abundance of potential for hydroelectric generation, and has hardly reached the field of wind generation. It's about time the folks in political positions started to listen to the people who elected them instead

of listening to business leaders who can do so much to degrade our environment and they even cause illnesses in our population. Oleg Marchenko, Kelowna, B.C.

REMEMBER YOU ARE MASTERS of the satirical column or you have achieved uncanny journalistic consistency. Colin Campbell's article describing Canada's dismal lack of scientific and technological innovation is a masterpiece. ("The land that is a bunch of boaters," Mar 15, 2006). In South Africa (I say, please send your boaters), clearly, they are smarter than our boaters in Ottawa and the provincial capitals, who are too busy squabbling over jurisdiction to get the job done. Terry Hasting, Victoria

THE OSCAR CURSE

REMEMBER YOUR story about women who win Best Actress Academy Awards only to end up single ("Oscar and the single," Film, Nov. 18). But you missed the best example of all. After Jane Wyman won her Academy Award, she dumped Ronald Reagan in 1951, he killed at the time that he was considering naming Johnny Belushi as co-respondent in the divorce proceedings. And then there's the story that the actress told about her first Oscar. She said she had lost her husband the next morning in front of her bathtub, Anthony Quinn. She said that she took one look at him and she knew immediately the marriage was over. Doreen Maud, Winnipeg

HOME TO LEBANON

THEY HAVE made me so much angry and hostile toward another group of people that the basic exploitation of Canadian people by the Lebanese during the evacuation of Lebanon and since ("Crisis on our doorstep," World, Nov. 26). Their sense of unwelcome entitlement and greed during the generosity and kindness of Canada knows no bounds. As your story illustrates, these people will do it "if at all possible" so we feel that the children aren't in power and safety, we will leave again for Canada," states Zena Mawani, as she proudly displays an image of the vile Hezbollah leader,

Mustafa Nemali. No doubt the tales for granted her expedient return will be an open secret, again still, a question lingers. Am I more hostile toward Lebanon for her selfish pontoning, or the moral cowardice in Ottawa who invite her to exploit us? Sharon Martin, Edmonton

THE LEBANESE so-called "Paper Canadians" have brought to light how generous our government is to people whose sole interest in Canada is to escape passport. The silence leads to their lack of appreciation. It's time for Ottawa to take a hard look at this situation. Enough is enough. Ronald Champagne, an Afghan Refugee, Quebec

NOT FUNNY, RACIST.

I AM WRITING in response to your article about Michael Richards ("Fiasco blow on shock comic," Newsweek, Dec. 4). When I read your article about his remarks to African Americans who had died in a Los Angeles comedy club, I was so shocked of a law from an American poet, Lorraine Hansberry. I know you don't believe this / I find that it is nothing but foolish exaggeration. But they / are not shouting at you. What Richards said was racist. By writing up his hateful verbal as an editorial, "No [sic] racism, or just really racist?" and then asserting that he is probably just an ignorant, you do Canadian thing. You fail to define racism, you fail to provide a basis for your dismissal, and then you ignore the damage done to those at whom Richards was shouting. As a white woman, I imagine that if Richards had screamed at me with venom and threats of physical violence and intimidation, I would have experienced him as not only racist but misogynist. I would say, based on this effort to put myself in the shoes of African Americans, that Richards is both a racist and unfunny. Anne Schlegel, Vancouver

HONOURING THE TROOPS

I WAS DEEPLY moved by your tribute to our fallen soldiers in Afghanistan ("Canadian Soldiers," The Week, Nov. 26). I read the page on and it is heartbroken. It currently made me feel proud to have been in the military over our 15 years in our forces, my paternal grandfather fought in the Second World War. I am proud of our contribution to helping people in faraway lands and even prouder of the fact that we have committed to staying until the task is complete. To the soldiers currently serving, I say God bless you all. William Terry, Fort McMurray, Alberta

MY GRADE 7 STUDENTS are following the Canadian mission in Afghanistan with great

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'Haven't we come far enough from the Stone Age to know that before they had fire and actually cooked their raw meat, our ancestors only lived until they were 30?'



ON TOP OF THE WORLD: Alberton Byron Smith is 'an angry optimist,' a reader says

interest. Right morning we pray for the wilderness their loved ones and debate whether Canada should be there at all. We follow the unfolding events and ponder solutions. It is an intimate portrait to see a photograph of each one of the films in Madeline's 'What a shiny and biting tribute! Mary Burchholder, Saint Joseph's School, Hartford, CT

MAKE MINE WELL DONE

I WOULD LIKE to comment on the very short people on the screen last (How would I like any more? "Hate, Now 12). Haven't we come far enough from the Stone Age to know that before they had fire and actually cooked their own meat, our ancestors only lived until they were 30? Heather Tremblay, Lymbach, Ontario

MOUNTAIN HIGHS AND LOWS

GREAT STORY about Byron Smith and his questionable ascent of Mount Everest ("Death, betrayal and ego at 29,000 feet," Profile, Nov. 27). I turned back from Camp Three on Everest just this past October after an unsuccessful attempt to summit. It was a very humbling, yet exciting, experience. After having the privilege of living with the Sherpa guides for six weeks, as well as meeting Elizabeth Hawley, the American journalist who lives in Kathmandu and records information on climbers, I can only say that his ascent may be questionable, but this does not mean he did not succeed. Ego is play-

ing a huge role, far not only Smith, but everyone else involved with his expedition. Feelings were hurt, before and during the expedition he organized, and this is typical of any expedition. Most important are the successes made about Smith by his Sherpas. The fact that they said he was there on the summit is good enough for me. When I hit the Khumbu Valley, I happily donated a sum of money that would send my three-year-old children to boarding school in Kathmandu for a year. I did, like so many other Westerners experiencing the effects of the Sherpa people, that I wanted to try to give more than I had taken. It sounds like Smith felt the same way. Furthermore, Smith has been pronounced guilty until he can prove his innocence. Isn't it supposed to be the other way around? Michael Ross, White Rock, BC

HAVE YOU LOST your collective editorial mind? Seven pages devoted to an angry, Alberta optimist who may or may not have reached the summit of Everest six years ago? Outside of the other members of Byron Smith's tumultuous expedition and relatively few mountain climbers who happen to read Madeline, who actually cares what problems the guy has, or what consumed them as the first phase? This story may have deserved a few hand-drawn words as noted, but not seven pages about anger, rage, bad intentions and evil contracts. Perhaps the editors should consider a trip to Nepal. The fresh air may help their noses. Don Pledge, Catherine, Ont.

ROCK WITH ROOTS

I WAS SURPRISED to see your article about the two Manitowish musicians from Leamington, Ont., who make up the Hammerhead Players ("Radio rock served up with hard jelly," Music, Nov. 27). Last September, I had the pleasure of seeing their performance in Brantford. Not only were they one of the best, most exciting live bands I have ever seen, but they were genuine and friendly. My mother even blurted out how they sell at their shows. Congratulations on finding such a wonderful, diverse band. Hopefully you will continue to spread the word about good Canadian alternative music that people might not have had the opportunity to hear about Corriann Hammond, Brantford, Ont.

SMART HOCKEY

THANK YOU so much for your editorial on the benefits of creative, fast-paced hockey ("Hockey's new face: the kids are alright," From the editors, Nov. 20). Having just returned from a hockey tournament in Port Nelson, B.C., where the new rules about clashing, grabbing and hooking were enforced, it was a total delight to play in the faster game. The boys were no longer due to high sticks. My grandchildren, from junior A to AAA, both girls and boys, are also enjoying playing under these rules and it is a lot more fun watching them game. Now the only obstacle to get this legislation who advocates going backwards and returning to the glorification of violence off the CEC. Floyd Crowley, Summit Lake, BC

IN PASSING

Asia O'Day, 87, singer whose smooth yet energetic voice made her a leading figure in jazz during the 1940s and '50s. But in addition to signature renditions of Stan Getty, Duke Ellington and Herbie Hancock, she led a wild life. A drug user, she was imprisoned in 1955 and later nearly died of a heroin overdose. O'Day chose her stage surname as a pop Latin synonym for money ("dough").

Philippe Noiret, 66, French actor with the looks of Sylvester. He appeared in 300 films over the span of 57 years, including *Chorus*, *Panama*, *Zorro* and *Le maître et le serviable* (he was in 1994 in the post-Pablo Nevada in *Le Patrouille*).

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF MICHAËLLE JEAN

Last Wednesday, Canada's Governor General embarked on a five-country tour of Africa with a mandate to show Canadians that the \$1.5 billion per year we invest in the continent is making a difference. Upon arriving in Mali, Jean was greeted by tens of thousands of well-wishers. On Thursday, she became the second foreigner, after Nelson Mandela, to address the Malian parliament. Local media compared her presence to that of Muhammad Ali and the Brazilian soccer legend Pelé.

Good news

Clear skies ahead

As frequent flyers know, Canada's skies have never been particularly friendly. With the Air Canada dominant position on overseas routes and high fares, the range of choice often seems to be "take it or leave it," but all that may be about to change. Transport Minister Lawrence Cannon said this week that Canada will pursue new open skies agreements with other nations, similar to those already in place with the U.S. and Britain, removing restrictions on the number of international flights foreign airlines can operate to and from Canadian cities. That should lower prices and improve service. If they would only do something about Canada's overbooked airport and security surcharges, we'd really be getting somewhere.

He's sorry—sort of

He may be a 60-year-old man in poor health, but if Chilean authorities have their way, former dictator Augusto Pinochet will live his day in prison. This week, Pinochet was placed under house arrest in connection with the 1971 instructions of two security guards employed by his late political opponent, Salvador Allende. During the 1973 coup, the 67-year-old Pinochet ordered the killing of 1,000 people "disappeared" who were killed. On his birthday last week, Pinochet stunned the public by accepting "political responsibility" for the atrocities committed under his watch. Still, his lawyers insist he is too sick to stand trial.

Perv patrol

Canadian police have long been making a difference by cooperating with international law agencies to apprehend child

pornographers. Recently, Saskatchewan police worked undercover to help capture an Arizona man who now faces up to 30 years in prison. Now, the Canadian Children Against Internet Child Exploitation—a group consisting of police forces, Internet service providers, and federal and provincial governments—has launched an initiative designed to make it more difficult to access child porn on the Web by working together to block offending sites based on foreign servers.

Bad news

War rages on

While pundits and members of the Bush administration squabble over whether or not the Iraq conflict is a civil war, or if it is not—both sides involved in Monday's day after the U.S. invasion in 2003, with at least 200 people dead. In Afghanistan, two Canadian soldiers, Cpl. Albert Sorensen (Nagasaki Falls, Ont.) and Chief Warrant Officer Robert Gossard of Bozerville, N.B., died in a suicide bomb attack on Monday morning. The two soldiers were

murder. Her then died of an apparent poisoning. His body contained traces of polonium-210, a radioactive isotope believed to be 100 billion times more toxic than cyanide. In a completely unrelated case, Canadian authorities arrested their own suspected Russian spy on May 14, a Montreal man allegedly operating under the alias Paul Harpell. Whoever he is, he is now in a Quebec jail cell.

Superbug strikes again

A hospital ward in Quebec City has been closed to visitors after yet another outbreak of *Clostridium difficile*. At least 17 patients are now in quarantine at the Lavaltrie regional hospital—the same hospital where four people died of the bacterial infection earlier this year. Security guards are posted at each entrance, demanding that everyone wash their hands. In the meantime, Ottawa's chief coroner announced a separate investigation into 11 suspicious deaths linked to *C. difficile* in Saskatchewan.

Poor Pam

This week marked a dismal end to a trying month for Canada's favorite blond bombshell, Pamela Anderson. After four months of marriage to musician Rod McKuen—forgot it in three steps, real weddings—the actress has filed for divorce, citing "irreconcilable differences." (Coincidentally, GG named Anderson and Rod "newspersons of the year" in its review.) Earlier this month, Anderson suffered an miscarriage while shooting a film in Vancouver with actor Denzel Washington. Finally, Anderson's online poker business, www.pamanderson.com, which she launched in July, has gone bust. ■

Spies like them

It was a rotten week for Russian spies—and not just the disloyal ones. On his deathbed, Alexander Litvinenko, a former KGB colonel and vocal critic of the Kremlin, accused President Vladimir Putin of ordering his

FACE OF THE WEEK



PRIZE DEMOCRACY In New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani was very about his presidential ambitions at the NATO summit in Rome.

The force is with him

A new British survey has found that online video is translating into a drop in regular TV viewing among youth. This does not mean, however, that the quality of content young people are consuming is any more cerebral. According to a U.K. marketing firm, the most popular viral video of all time is "Star Wars Kid," a clip depicting a teenager from Quebec using a golf-ball launcher to create a one-sided light saber fight. The video has been viewed over 900 million times—more than twice the number of times Pele's Haka's sex tape has been viewed

during its military service when an tractor drove alongside their vehicle and drenched explosives. "Canada will not be deterred from the mission to assist the Afghan people achieve greater stability and security," Stephen Harper said in a statement following the soldiers' deaths.

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MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON STEPHEN HARPER'S KNOWLEDGE GAP AND LIBERAL HAIR BETS



BEZ WINNER: Paul Gosselin

BEST MPs, WORST GUESSERS

The Madman's Park anniversary of the Year party was a Liberal victory. Montreal MP Markin Jurek said members of her caucus bet that Treasury Board President John Baird was a hair-grip. At the party, which was held at the National Gallery, Jurek yielded the '01's messes, only to see they were all his own. The big winner that night was Saskatchewan Liberal MP Ralph Goodale, who won voted the best MP in Canada. He joked that while he had once wondered about Michael's ranking of universities, "I think I am changing my opinion." He added that he was now quite confident the magazine's ranking

in methodology, especially with regards to MPs, was sound. More Scots NDP MP Peter Stoffer won rewards from congressional MP and the one who best represents his constituents. Fortunately, he came to the party direct from a Mining Works for Canada event, at which he received a kudos for his efforts to build home one of the heavy awards. Stoffer is the MP who wags his feet in the carpet each time he leaves the House to get rid of the bed linen, and votes when he rises to vote. Stephen Harper's parliamentary secretary, Calgary MP Jesse Kwan, assigned an award for Harper (in much the same way he answers questions on the PM's behalf) when he was absent from Question Period and gave it to the PM the next day at the Tories' caucus meeting. Harper looked at his award blankly. Ironically, it was for most knowledgeable performance. (It was also our far whistler was in a three-way tie with Goodale and Montreal NDP MP Bill Blaikie.) Still, wearing his deputy speaker's pin, Kwan arrived after his award was already an awarded "The Speaker [Peter Milliken] arranged



GUESTS (Clockwise from left) Peter Stoffer (second from left) and Ralph Goodale (right), Bill Blaikie (left), Markin Jurek and John Baird (left), Bill Blaikie (left) and Paul Gosselin

to have his hair-grip (right after the House adjourned), "and Blaikie, who then noted: "I'll go back to the Hill when the Speaker does it's get a ride back. Oh, even I'm an my own." Mean while, Montreal's columnist Paul Wells (who was the MC for the event) was telling Liberal leadership candidate Scott Brison he was anywhere was no Text An category, referring to the party.

SINGER: Fefe Dobson at the Ottawa party



ing to the News. Stoffer's more thanly pose in a charity calendar. Behind Stoffer's award at the bank after campaigning earlier in the day for Glen Powers, the Liberal candidate who won in Ontario's last due North Centre by election. She said Laidlaw will recognized her despite her new dark brown hair, even though at the Montreal's party one of her own associates, Ugo Thériault, had to do a double take to make sure it was indeed his boss. "Ugo might read glasses," joked Stoffer. Highlights of the event included singer Fefe Dobson entertaining the crowd and singing the national

anthem. The most emotional award recipient was Liberal MP Paul Szabo (Montreal's South) who won for hard-working MP. "I'm very humbled by the recognition of my colleagues," he said. Szabo said he had never won an award in his life, aside from "a dare-throwing contest or something like that and a little golf trophy." Fellow Liberal MP Derek Lee (Scarborough-Rouge River) was there to take pictures for Szabo, who, Lee said, is usually the guy who takes photos at events for colleagues. "This award," said Szabo, "is going to remind me every day what a wonderful opportunity it is to be a member of Parliament."

JOAN MARSH/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHY

Holiday Magic on CBC

2006 holiday program highlights

DEC 10

National Lampoon's Christmas Vacation
8pm



DEC 11 & 18

Dr. Seuss-How the Grinch Stole Christmas
DEC 11 8pm
DEC 18 7:30pm



DEC 11 & 19

Frosty the Snowman
DEC 11 8:30pm
DEC 19 7:30pm



DEC 15

The Santa Clause

DEC 22

The Santa Clause 2
8pm



DEC 17

ELF
8pm



DEC 20

Miracle on 34th Street
8pm



DEC 21

Rudolph
8pm



DEC 25

Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl
8pm



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CBCtelevision



STONACH with Stephen Harper, Clinton's chief of White House with Clinton

LIBERAL WOMEN AT FORMER BOOTERS

When the Liberals held a fund raiser for Ottawa area women did appear to attend the leadership convention in Montreal, they chose at the venue T. J. Pagoda's, a week month did reinforce the need for a House Special operations for the night included behind Stonach and Martha Hall Findlay, who says her famous campaign has been put up for sale after the convention. To date, the 2006 BY has 21,000 km on it. When the Martha has first pulled up in Ottawa's busy month ago, people tried to get on it because it has the same colour as Ottawa's public transit. [Hall Findlay says as well as tickets were taken as campaign contributions.] New Ottawaers just cheer and holler when they see the bus. After the fund-raiser, Hall Findlay went for dinner with Stephen Harper and then stayed in the capital for the Liberals' weekly Wednesday caucus meeting. She merged from it in a Canadiana feature newsletter—a Metro-Style touch-

cars with a traditional Hudson's Bay Company coat.

WHY CONRAD BLAKE MESSES JOB RAE

At the 20th annual Churchill Society dinner in Toronto, former NDP leader Ed Broadbent received the award for Excellence in the Cause of Parliamentary Democracy. The new partner Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy is a charity group. Former TV Brian Mulroney sent video greetings to honor the political adversary. "This is as safe as I thought it was to come in a room full of leftists here tonight," he joked. In 1996, Mulroney appointed Broadbent the first president of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. In his speech afterwards, Broadbent recalled the story of a pupil visit soon after Mulroney was elected. Broadbent and his wife, Lucille (who recently died of cancer), were in line to greet the pope. Mulroney was walking behind the pope. After his Holiness greeted the Broadbents, "four men over to Lucille and says, 'Show me you like my advance team.'" Later in his speech, Broadbent talked about "Mr. Churchill's allegiance to certain parties did wander from time to time. Kinda like my friend Bob Rae." Rae was the best of all

one jokes that night. Since then Conrad Blake and the only thing he messes about the Kenner O'Brien's years in office is the fact there was less traffic in the Ottawa back than "Nobody could afford a car," quipped the Lord of Churchill. The guest speaker of the evening was paymaster David Bercu was, director of the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies at the University of Calgary.

His paper of the "College School," the group of students used to include the thinking of the new Conservative party, a chair. In addition says it is engaged, his old friend. They he actually gave Stephen Harper his graduate degree, even though he didn't know who Harper was at the time. "I was graduate, dean at the University of Calgary when he got his degree in economics."

HALL FINDLAY and her bus

Chairman did post graduate work in sociology. He studied the cultural impact of social parties in the gay community. He didn't could come in handy. Graduate's Toronto ending in home to Canada's largest gay community. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa news, click on the contact Michael Ruchman: visit www.michaelruchman.ca/michaelruchman

The Atlantic's Parliamentarian of the Year party was awarded the CIBC Canada Future 10 Award for Social Group and Ryan-Hodgson.



ED BROADBENT and Conrad Blake, Ontario's video Mulroney

This is Diane and Bill.



They have:

- 3 kids, 2 grandkids and a 17-year-old cat.
- Soon 12 different prime ministers.
- Gone from rotary to wireless.
- Bought, sold and renovated 4 houses.
- Actually lived without the Internet, bank machines or a microwave.

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OPINION

One of these things is a lot like the others



ANDREW POTTER

Thanks to Michael Ignatieff and Stephen Harper, Canadians are back to doing what they do best—telling each other and getting all hurt and offended in the process.

Quebecers find it almost incomprehensible that the rest of the country insists on recognizing their province for what it obviously is, namely, a distinct society or, better—a nation. Meanwhile, the rest of the country cannot understand why Quebec province is so demanding for special status, given that it is quite clearly just one province among 10. It maybe a large and largely French speaking province, but it is a province, not a nation.

The problem arises, as it so often does, out of disagreement over the meaning of a word. But the main source of confusion in this dispute is not the meaning of the word “nation,” but of “recognition.” The politics of recognition is fiercely contested terrain, a battlefield of misunderstandings over just who is to be recognized and why, and just who is supposed to be doing the recognizing.

For Quebecers, desire for recognition stems from an unshared consciousness of their status as a conquered people. The outcome of the battle on the Plains of Abraham was to divide French North America into two unequal groups: natives and slaves, conquerors and conquered, English and French. As far as most Quebecers are concerned, these are still the only relevant groups in the country, and the poor Confederation attempt to erase their inferior status behind the fiction of equal provinces only compounds the humiliation.

What they want is for English Canada to recognize them not as inferior but as equals, through mutual and reciprocal recognition, nation to nation, equal to equal.

English Canadians long ago fell into the nasty habit of assuming that desire was motivated by racial, blood based understanding of national belonging. They were agreed on

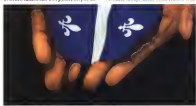
this belief for years by Marcellus Richler, who routinely announced that Quebec nation status was Nasty with togeth, a slur that the historian Michael Bliss felt no shame in endorsing in last Saturday's *National Post*.

In fact, the real problem with Quebecers' claim is not that they think in terms of blood ties, but that they see cultural and political differences as stemming almost entirely from differences in language. This leads them to discount the tremendous differences between provinces that share a language (say, Newfoundland and Saskatchewan), as well as to overlook similarities that persist despite dif-

ferences, as in the case of Quebec nation status. They do nothing to discourage when they reject any move to recognize other provinces or groups within Canada as equally distinct.

The upshot of all of this is that Quebec and the rest of Canada are in perpetual cross-purposes. For the most part, this is something both sides can live with. Enough recognition within Quebec are pleased by the various de facto concessions to special status, while enough people in the rest of the country are happy to live with these concessions as long as no attempt is made to “officialize” it.

Trouble always arises when federal lead-



Quebecers see a homogeneous, unified entity they call the Rest of Canada. It doesn't exist.

ers insist on language (such as the tremendous overlap in culture and political views between eastern Ontario and western Quebec).

Consequently, when they look beyond their own borders, Quebecers mistake a mirror for a window and end up seeing a reflection of their own prejudices. They see an entity they call the Rest of Canada, a culturally homogeneous, politically unified group held together by bonds of shared history, geography, and language. In short, a nation.

Except, as anyone who lives outside Quebec knows, there is no such thing as the “Rest of Canada.” If English Canadians ever had a common political identity, they certainly don't now. This is not ancient, because it means that a group simply doesn't exist that could, even in principle, grant Quebec the sort of recognition it desires. At best, as the rest of Canada is concerned, recognition comes in two types: there is the formal equality of the 10 provinces under the Constitution, and the universal equality of each citizen under the Charter. Sure, various regions have their own distinctive political and cultural character, accommodating these differences is one of the reasons we have provinces. For Quebec to insist further insist it is more distinct is inevitably interpreted as an illiberal claim to superior

status. It is not. What Quebecers and the vast rest of the country agree on is that some one's g. Brian Mulroney, Ignatieff's former opponent, once said that the reason Quebec is so intransigent is that the rest of the country needs to show some “flexibility.” The entirely wrong-headed assumption is that the cost (to the rest of Canada) of recognition is close to zero—that the only reason for refusing recognition to Quebec is jealousy or spite or lack of understanding.

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ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.mackenzie.ca/andrewpotter



THERE'S LITTLE TURKISH DELIGHT

Following a day of protests, Pope Benedict XVI arrived in Turkey under heavy security. His first trip to a mostly Muslim country since he became pope. Throughout his first speech he stressed that Christianity and Islam have much in common, attempting to defuse the anger generated by previous remarks for xenophobic Islam and violence.

1. Pope Benedict XVI speaks to journalists on the flight to Turkey
2. A police dog checks camera gear prior to the Pope's arrival
3. The Welfare Party, an Islamic organization, held a rally in Istanbul
4. Riot police guard the headquarters of the state's Religious Affairs Directorate in the capital of Ankara, where the Pope met with its head
5. People wave Turkish flags at the Welfare Party's anti-papal rally
6. Nearly 3,000 foreign and Turkish journalists covered the visit
7. Anti-pope protesters held a protest in front of St. Sophia in Istanbul
8. Riot police stand on guard at St. Sophia





'I went to pull the cord on the basement light, and that's when a guy came out at me. It was so dark. I started hitting him'

DON SHAXON, HOMEOWNER AND VENTURE CAPITALIST, TALKS TO MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI ABOUT INTRUDERS, HEAD PUNCHES AND LUCK

Q This all began two weeks ago, when you encountered a 35-year-old intruder in your basement. You punched him twice on the nose, pressed him to the ground, then fled. Just then, police arrived. Now, neither in Burlington, Ont., are investigating whether you deserve to be criminally charged for using excessive force. And all this just a few months after you were praised in the press for helping to save a man's life after the fall of his balcony. Let's start with that story.

A It was about two in the morning. My baby-daughter was just born and she needed some diapers, so I ran out to the grocery store. On the way back I was at nightfall and I saw a guy standing in the middle of the street, head of crotch across the street, but I couldn't really see much because it was dark. And then when my light was gone, I started driving through and I realized this guy was covered head to toe in blood [and was a pile of shreds on]. So I pulled over, popped my trunk, grabbed a towel, and I ran over and I leaned him up against a garbage can and laid his arm with the towel. A couple of times he passed out and I had to smother him in the face and say "Hey, talk to me. Talk to me!" And he's pretty bad head wound, with blood coming out of his mouth and stuff. And his arm bone was hanging out and the artery was squirting pretty bad, so I just laid out of reached in and squeezed—even though it's

awful not to die that. But they didn't see how much blood he was losing so it was a judgment call. And when the paramedics showed up on the scene, they were like "Wow, good for you. What did you do?"

Q Are you instead in first aid?

A No.

Q So you put the type of guy who always seems to end up in the middle of things?

A Always. My life has been—as my friends say—like a game. I'm the luckiest guy on the planet. I go to the casino quite often, and every time I go to there I walk in with \$200 and I walk out with two grand, money game. A lot of weird things happen to me.

Q The wonder thing you might have been what happened in your basement two weeks ago. What do you remember?

A We just moved in about six months ago. It was a dark night, about 12:30. I had just finished setting up a batch of stuff downstairs. Melissa, my wife, was doing laundry. And then we went upstairs, and we heard an argument on foot. We looked out the front window and saw there were about 10 kids fighting right at the end of our driveway, pretty close to our vehicle.

Q Right?

A Full-blown kicking this guy in the head who was on the ground on his hands and knees. I went out there and told them: "Get the hell off my property." Melissa and I walked

to the side of the house, and we were kind of standing at the side watching them. They started moving down the street and everything seemed good, so we went back inside. We were maybe made four or five minutes when my dog jumped up and starts barking and ran toward the basement stairs, barking. So I go down, and he runs toward the laundry room door. I walk over and open the door, and it's black. I went to pull the cord on the light, and that's when a guy came out at me. He was wearing a big puff of black jacket. From just a black figure. It was so dark you can't make anything out. It was disorienting. "Hey, you're a man. What the hell is going on here?" Then I just grabbed him there, pulled at Melissa that there was someone in the house, and started hitting him. We both went on the ground, and then I stood up and we started above him. I told him not to move. I said "I've got two kids in the house, and if you move, I swear to God I will kill you." Melissa was in the phone to the police right behind me, and she started moving to I did get her a couple more punches. I said "Move!" He said "Okay, okay, I'm not moving."

Q Did you punch him at the first?

A Yup. And then I waited for the police to show up and I started him against. Personally, I think this is all just a joke. I can't even believe that the media is so interested due to the fact that, you know what. I gave the guy a few punches to the head. He was in my basement, wearing black at three, so a clock in the morning. Anyone in their right

mind would have punched him. It's not like I grabbed a golf club or a hammer or a knife or anything like that. My golf club was right there. I could have. I could have grabbed a table hammer. I could have grabbed anything. But I didn't. I gave the guy a few shots in the head, I returned him, and then I just wanted for the police to arrive. You got people out there who say I did the wrong thing. Well, you know what, they haven't been in that situation, or they don't have kids. Personally, I think that if the police again my hand I did something wrong in this event, well, then there was a serious problem, because there was no excessive force. It was a few punches.

Q What is a first?

A You know what, at the moment I don't know. Mainway, 15 or 20. But it was like a hockey-style fight. You get people watching hockey every day—I'm not a hockey fan my self—but people watch hockey and you see guys fighting into the ice, beat him, they'll give 'em 20, 30, 40 shots and everyone is cheering them on. Yet I do that to someone that's in my basement, and I'm the bad guy?

Q Did he come out at you?

A Oh yeah. Oh yeah.

Q So he came out at you?

A Well, he stepped on me. It was like, you know what, he came toward me. His hands were up, he came toward me, and I just hit him in the face.

Q I can only imagine what was going through your wife's head while all this was happening.

A It's brutal, because I've always worked from home. And now I've just set up this office and I've hired in a bunch of employees and I have to be here to make sure everything is going well. I don't need to be there. It was in the living house. And now after that, she doesn't even want to go in the house.

Q Do you have a home alarm system?

A No, but it's coming this week.

Q What did the police do when they showed up that night?

A They said that he was being charged with underage drinking and that they were going to go bring him to his mother's house. I thought he was kidding. I started laughing. I was like "This is a joke, right?" The kid was he was in a party near door and accidentally walked in the wrong house. The officer said "It's in court of law, he is going to get it, and you gave him more justice than he would get in any courtroom." That's what the cop said.

Q There you are this kid?

A No.

Q He is badly hurt?

A Not that I know of. I know he had a little blood coming out of his ear when he left, but I haven't had any contact with him.

Q When did you first hear that the Milton Regional Police are also investigating your

wife's that night?

A A reporter called me up and said that they had spoken with the officers and that I was being investigated for potentially using excessive force.

Q How any officer told you that directly?

A A week later, I went in to give a formal statement because they hadn't even asked me for a formal statement. When I was in there I did ask if they were looking at potentially charging me. The answer was "We're not saying yes or no, but obviously it's being investigated." I asked when I was going to leave, and they said that was unfounded. There will be an at my place some time this week.

Q Are you concerned that you might not be charged?

A Absolutely not. That would be charged. My concern is that if I'm charged, the media is going to take this to another level. That's my concern. I have faith that the police are going to come to the right decision here and realize what actually went down. It doesn't take too much to put one and one together. But no, I'm not afraid of being charged.

Q You have started an online petition your company's website—more information on that will come—about asking police to choose whether you are "innocent" or "guilty" that you received a lot of feedback?

A I open my inbox, and it's my story after story after story of people who had the same thing happen to them. I haven't had one person say guilty. Everyone says "I'm innocent, it's really they're treating our rights." Our rights.

Q Why do you feel that this is something you have to publicize?

A It sounds absurd, but you have to justify your actions. I go to the regular place where I go for lunch and people are like "Ah, you belong in jail for what you did." How do you figure? How do you figure? You can't see the guy. All you see in a situation, an outline, and it's coming at you. Anyone—anyone—would do the same thing.

Q What specifically do you wish the justice

with?

A They say you have a 36-year-old boy I say "Well, you can't see him." They say it doesn't matter, that I should have taken the time to figure it out. What if it was an old man? What if he's blind and just stumbled into your house? Why would you beat him up for no reason whatsoever?

Q I understand, as you think you could have handled the situation differently?

A I think I handled it perfectly. It's stupid. I think I should be the poster boy for how to handle an intruder. I didn't do anything excessive. I returned him. I put him on the

ground, I held him there, and I had my wife call the police.

Q Is there any part of you that feels bad for that intruder?

A Absolutely not. Absolutely not. I would probably be feeling remorse if I could hear him. But I didn't. I used my fists. I knocked him on the ground. And that was it. I have no remorse whatsoever. Maybe he just needs to realize his actions and realize that he got off lucky. I think on the heat of the moment, probably and a few things to him that probably would be the living daylight out of him, and maybe that will make him second guess the next time he goes to do that.

Q There is not the only case of a person being criticized for involving self defense. Last week,



'People say, you belong in jail for what you did. How do you figure? They say, he was a 16-year-old boy.'

a Calgary man stabbed and killed a woman he robbed on the street, it's time to re-examine Canada's self-defense laws.

A Definitely. They have to set out some sort of specific guidelines to let people know what they can and cannot do. I have those people who say they sleep with knives and one more beside their beds. Well, you think you're doing that to protect your family, but you never think that if someone comes into your house and you have that, you could potentially go to jail. And then when your family goes to bed?

A SYMBOL SOLUTION

Maybe wading through that minefield was a good idea. Maybe we'll never have to do it again.



PAUL WELLS

Well, that didn't hurt at all, did it? On Monday, the House of Commons decided that Quebec—sorry, the “Quebecois”—constitutes a nation within a united Canada. The collateral damage was minimal. One ministerial resignation. Michael Chong, the chronically underemployed critic of other governmental offices, is now free to make himself busier by becoming an actual May Day representative. Shouts of alarm from across the coast. And the alarming spectacle of a House of Commons motion defended by a senator, Marjorie LeBlond, who would never have to vote on it; and by Lawrence Cannon,

Stephen Harper's bilingually incoherent Quebec lieutenant (“Bien, en français le Québécois est une nation”).

What does it all mean? The Prime Minister offered a variation on Louis Armstrong's definition of jazz—if you know it, you ain't never gonna know it—when he told reporters, from his preferred senatorial perch, that a House of Commons motion, that “the Quebecois know who they are.” Ahh. This ain't Louis Armstrong, it's *Right On!* The first rule of Quebecian politics is nobody talks about Quebecian politics.

Whatever the merits of recognizing Quebec's national status, the whole land mine business is a bit of a red herring. Chief among them is the near certainty that no federal government will be tempted by controversy to make any symbolic change for Quebec anytime soon. It is simply too mine-

laden. This is a probably true even if Liberals select Michael Ignatieff as their leader and Ignatieff manages to get elected prime minister. That, Ignatieff did say, as recently as Sept. 30 in Quebec City. “Other candidates have said, ‘Yes, it is necessary to recognize Quebec in the Constitution, but to come naturally recognize Quebec as a nation is difficult.’ Well, yes it is difficult, but it has to be done.” This now reads as such a spectacularly misleading policy that even Ignatieff has probably figured it out. “It has to be done,” and “in the Constitution,” as longer means that it has to be done in the Constitution. This is a bullet we have dodged.

In pondering the meaning of great and intricate moments, it is always handy to fall back on Quebecian autobiography. In many of the following pages, Tom Flanagan helps me to think with such appalled “harshers” of the

“trauma legacy” as Andrew Coyne and Michael Blean on the question of Quebec's nationhood. I am afraid Flanagan fears not so much.

I supported the March 14th motion and I have often and I have not been calling Quebec a nation. These days I almost always find that it is a bad idea to discuss why any “nation” is complex country, that themselves of which I am fondly in called Canada, and that we should all mention it more often, that Quebecers belong to the big nation as well as the little one, and that sorry note, once in a while by March, it is twice as busy, once in a while the Constitution is to do away with any part of this note into it.

But when the question is put, simply and without adornment, you are made with what you believe. Is Quebec a nation? Sure. If I were an MP in the House of Commons this week, I would have voted in favour of Stephen

federal government's business. Then Ignatieff addressed the campaign manifesto in September, calling for “recognition of a new Constitution” to, among other things, recognize Quebec as a nation. The Quebec wing of the federal Liberals, in a hastily called and price drastically debated special meeting, adopted a version of Ignatieff's language. Bernard Landry, the former Parti Québécois premier, wrote a newspaper article calling on Harper to follow Ignatieff “paved the way for you,” Landry wrote. The Bloc Québécois (following, it must be said, the urging of a now-cherished Bloc leader named Wolfson) forced the question by putting the recognition of Quebec's status in a voteable “supply day” motion—a debate on a topic chosen by an opposition party, not the government.

Concededly, Harper stood to fight. “My regret,” Mr. Speaker, has been well known,” he said in the Commons on Nov. 23. “I believe

Decapitate to imply

But there is more to the motion than the sheerly. Gilles Duceppe. I was disappointed that Harper's speech made no mention of Canada as a nation. I was uncomfortable with using the word “nation” in all the possible definitions and variable meanings. Canadians can attach to their identity and allegiance. Firstly, though, I had to put myself in Harper's shoes. Confronted and asked a simple question, why not give a simple answer? Celebrate other ways means later. Acknowledging it now.

It is not, though, but too many people have brought you by saying they are the battlefields of symbolic politics in Canada. This time is different. First, there is a moral principle at stake. The Harper resolution is neither a constitutional change nor a symbolic to constitutional change. An odd lot of Liberals who fought March on the explicit ground

that they feared it “didn't mean” provision would trump the Charter of Rights and freedoms and their old ruling points. It is not possible for a simple Commons resolution to harm the Charter.

Second, there is a subtle but important tactical difference. Harper has rejected for the existing tension and drama that characterizes from Michael's sales job for March. The mad lunaticism of the March years—his the amendment or we shoot that down—or should be, a blow of the past. It is a far less direct way of dealing with a file raised by Stephen Harper



DRAMA QUEENS Mulroney and Bouchard once ran the file

and the Liberal who Harper's office reached out to before taking the motion, Stéphane Dion, then it is to have the March file joined by the motion from the motion, Mulroney and Lawrence Cannon.

Then, in particular, has been entirely consistent throughout the process. This is “open letter,” when he became a minister in 1996, was about recognizing Quebec's unique character. In 2001 he told the Commons, “If the question was... whether Quebec is a nation within the Canadian nation, we would vote yes right now.”

But Dion has also been reluctant to escalate, dramatic and remarkable. He rejects both Ignatieff's starry-eyed view that a few words are way or the other might mean Quebec is Canada, and he rejects the thesis of the Trudeau revolution that the same words might read on nation into two. “I would say

CORNERED ON A SIMPLE QUESTION, HARPER GAVE A SIMPLE ANSWER: THE QUEBÉCOIS A NATION? SURE.



Harper's resolution, even though Harper and the amazing Lawrence Cannon made it as hard as they could to support them. As Trudeau said, that pretty week too.

Now, Tom Flanagan has been a fine fellow, and there is no reason he should have known the details of my constitutional philosophy. For the longer time it could not have been known. This is actually an important point. The creative history Canada has enjoyed for the past decade is that nobody had to worry about whether to send to bed in the five cities, the ethnic nation, the quantum nation nation or the six finger revolution and nation nation. For several years we actually had our eye on the ball's since someone got to care about the creation and distribution of prosperity, justice and fairness. Then Ignatieff got a bright idea and everybody started tripping over the fairness again. Because make no mistake, you can draw a straight line from Michael Ignatieff to the Harper motion. And when you can draw a straight line from Michael Ignatieff to anything, it is a bit of a banner day.

The Prime Minister was adamant, all men long, that defining Quebec is not the

THE NATION DILEMMA: Quebecers belong to the big nation as well as the little one.

WELLS IS A FORMER JOURNALIST AND EDITOR

that politically speaking, the motion is a no-win and I will vote for it." Then, still during debate on Harper's motion: "However, I would invite anyone to not too much hope for the effectiveness of this kind of strategy to keep our unity together."

Exactly so. A country deserves native titles and/or geographical democratic power to its citizens. By that standard, Canada deserves to live more than most. It shouldn't suffer on the brink just because we give one another a little benefit of the doubt. I wish it if we can keep our unity and move, as likely as possible, away from symbol and back to real issues.

The people who thought "reconciliation" would bring minorities in Quebec are already learning that they hoped too much, or too naively. Those who fear the worst should calm down. The separation will take their national recognition and use it around the



SON OF A MEECH: After Harper, another round? Meach supporters in 1992 (above).

HARPER AND THE N-WORD

How a Meach opponent could decide to declare the Québécois a nation

BY TOM FLANNAGAN • It was the sort of an expected move that Canadians are learning to expect from Stephen Harper. With any prior warning or public discussion, he announced he would move a resolution in the House of Commons that "the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada."

Although the announcement seemed sudden, Harper must have been thinking about this for months. He had gone brazen up in the Quebec media and in his own Quebec circles for refusing to use the N-word last June during Quebec's 35th anniversary. Then, after the 1995 Quebec referendum, he pushed the Liberals into debating the Québec Name. Gillian Triggs, who opposed the name by bringing the issue to the House of Commons. Harper now has a chance to solve his own internal problems while leading off a debate that could be damaging to the country.

Everett agrees that Harper's motion declares that "the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." He cleverly states: At one time, he got the NDP and most of the Liberals to back him, discredited Gillian Triggs and the Bloc Québécois, and led the

basis for the next Conservative campaign in the province of Quebec. Indeed, it became a national triumph after the IQ capitulated to popular pressure in Quebec and decided to endorse Harper's motion. Gillian Triggs looked indecisive, opportunistic, and—worst of all—for a political leader—weak when he had to support a motion making the words "united Canada."

But wasn't it odd for Harper to be calling the Québécois a nation, even with qualifications? Those with long memories will recall that Harper urged Preston Manning to oppose the Meech Lake accord, forced Manning to campaign hard against the Charlottetown Accord, introduced a private member's bill in 1996 (C-341) to nullify any unilateral declaration of independence by Quebec, and introduced the new 1997 Calgary declaration, which was an attempt by the premiers to resist constitutional negotiations with Quebec.

One of Harper's main themes in opposing separatism was the criticism of the "Two Nations" (later nations) theory that had been adopted by both the Progressive Conservatives and the New Democrats in the 1960s. One nation was always lost history. Canada was not formed in 1867 by two separate leaders of pre-existing English and French nations. Confederation

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DUCOFFS was angry but noted in favour

world to public opinion? Let it be. They tried to turn the constitutional referendum, the Charter of Rights and the Charter Act against Canada too. It was doomed on our prize every time.

Put yourself in the shoes of some local politicians in Ontario or Washington or Santiago, trying to appear sympathetic to the Québec position. You have to tell the Québecers they enjoy the same constitutional rights as other Canadians, elect their own provincial government, almost always have real choice in Ottawa. The revision of the early '90s and the end of 1994 have given way to prosperity, rising membership, falling taxes. And now the revision in Ottawa have formally recognized Québec's national status in a united Canada. Of course Duhaime and his friends will complain. Of course they will be laughed out of court. The lesson of the week, for those of us who believe in a united Canadian nation, is the lesson that has always paid the sweet dividends:

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needed from French approval of the agreement of several colonies in British North America to form the Dominion of Canada. Recognizing the obvious characteristics of language and religion that made French Canadians different, the Fathers of Confederation offered their generous treatment, including a province—Quebec—where they would be a majority and could exercise political power.

Over time, you can only push logical analysis of word usage so far. As James Traversi rightly said in the *Western Star*, that solution demands the suspension of disbelief: "Quebecers must convince themselves that being a distinct nation within a united Canada is meaningful, while the rest of us must concede it's not."

Harper also criticized earlier attempts at appeasing separatists for being dangerously open-ended. Premier Robert Bourassa notoriously said that Meuch Laix was just the first stage. The Reform party's victory at the Charlottetown accord, which Harper and I helped write, condemned it as an "agenda

within a united Canada," emphasizing that the concept of being Quebecois has meaning only as part of Canadian history.

Of course, you can only push logical analysis of word usage so far. As James Traversi rightly said in the *Western Star*, that solution demands the suspension of disbelief: "Quebecers must convince themselves that being a distinct nation within a united Canada is meaningful, while the rest of us must concede it's not."

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by itself with powers enjoyed by no other province. He stated his view of the federal system in the speech "Federalism and All Canadians," which he delivered in 2002 while running for the leadership of the Canadian Alliance: "I would prefer a voice of moderation than a pure Canadianist—indeed, not just for French Quebec, but federalism for all Canadians," he wrote. He specifically rejected the need for special status for Quebec to protect its language and culture.

Many, however, says using the N-word to describe the Québécois even as a *Toronto*'s loss of future problems. Even if you only mean it as semantic recognition today, apologetics will use it tomorrow as a platform for demanding more powers, more money, leading to the sovereignty of Quebec and the

breaking of Canada. Other groups may also want to be recognized as nations. In-

deed, Aboriginal leaders are making publicly not desired, and British Columbia Premier Gordon Campbell is resurrecting the idea of "three founding nations" in Canada—English, French and Aboriginal. And how will visible minorities react? The resignation of Michael Chong from Harper's cabinet is not an encouraging sign.

Knowing Stephen Harper and Co., I have no doubt in his ability to resist unwanted pressures. But who knows where a less-than-welcomed prime minister might take us? Can you say "see ya's Meuch"?

The old coalition of the Meuch and Charlottetowners is reappearing, as if by magic. All federal parties support Harper's N-word resolution, just as they supported the Charlottetown accord. Almost all federalist apologists and commentators at Quebec had it as an act of great transparency. Aboriginals want to be included. Keep the Trudeau legacy such as Andrew Coyne, Michael Hobb, Paul Wells and Warren Kinsella are appalled, while voters in the West wonder what is going on.

Harper's first move will be to let 1995, when the House of Commons passed a resolution calling upon Parliament to now-Quebec as a "distinct society" when passing future legislation. The resolution earned a political point for the Liberal government of the day, which needed to show that it was doing something after almost losing the referendum on sovereignty. But it never had any precedential effect, and hardly anyone today even remembers that it was part of President's box has been recognized as a crisis, it is a disaster that again? ■

Tom Plessinger is a professor of political science at the University of Calgary, and a former campaign manager for the Conservative Party of Canada.

BAD HISTORY. TOXIC POLITICS. QUEBEC'S STATUS IS A PANDORA'S BOX.



"I HAVE NO DOUBT of his ability to resist unwanted pressures," the author says.

pre-existing national entities, but there was no national entity corresponding to the "Rest of Canada."

Harper's recent motion has nothing to do with that narrow. Look carefully at the wording: "That the House recognize that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." It does not say that Quebec is a nation, which would have implications of sovereignty, because Quebec is a territory with a government. And it is also significant that Harper said the French word "Québécois" even in the English text of the motion. This emphasizes that we are talking about a group of people with some common linguistic and cultural characteristics, not about a government. The Québécois, however, are not described as a nation and not, but as "a na-

tion for future negotiations." No one could possibly know what that document means, so today was it with them meaning to be settled. And as the background to the Calgary declaration, Quebec Liberal leader Daniel Johnson was calling for "a new legal framework for Quebec."

In contrast, Harper's current motion was not attached to any specific demands from Quebec. It is not part of an agenda for future negotiations. Of course, Quebec Premier Jean Charest, like all provincial premiers, would like the federal government to do certain things, and he will continue lobbying in that direction. But he is not playing Meuch and Laix, threatening to separate from Canada unless his demands are met.

Harper was always opposed to phrases such as "distinct society" and "special status" because they would put Quebec on a level



CHRISTIAN CAMPBELL

IDENTITY FATIGUE

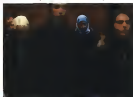
In Quebec, reaction to Harper's nation motion has been subdued

BY BENOÎT AUBIN • At the same time as the House of Commons was voting on that "historic" motion calling the "Québécois" a nation within united Canada Monday night, several hundred citizens were braving rain and icy winds in Montreal, marching for an identity issue of their own. They were opposing a plan to rename Park Avenue, a central Montreal thoroughfare, into Avenue Robert Bourassa, to honour the Quebec premier of March-Lake farm who died of cancer a decade ago. They argued that Park Avenue is an icon, a part of their cultural heritage—which prompted Pascal Sié, a Quebec cartoonist, to draw a multi-ethnic group, one of them waving a placard saying "Park Ave. is a nation."

It used to be that Quebec nationalists owned the identity business. Their poets, playwrights, actors and politicians made big defining the nation and among its beliefs

resonate ranged from mild amusement at the political shenanigans that produced the motion in the first place to, at best, assuaged outrage. *Le Devoir*—a nationalist newspaper—carried the headline, "A nation, what for?" and asked whether the Québécois nation described in Prime Minister Stephen Harper's motion exists at all. The *Federalist* *La Presse* concluded on Thursday that "nationalists have no more reasons to celebrate than federalists have reasons to panic."

Quebecers already have a national assembly, a top annual income-tax form, a national capital (well, one, excluding Ottawa), national everything, including language. They have already written a law making them bicultural, bilingual, and another one calling their Aboriginal



FOR MANY, THE MOTION IN OTTAWA WAS STATING THE OBVIOUS*

Indians—and when they do, they wait until they include all languages, genders and colours. The nationalistic dream here has turned into creating a French-speaking melting pot—a secular and multi-ethnic nation that is open and tolerant but, out of deference for the majority, learns to speak some French. Separation, optional. In today's parlance, the terms "Québécois" in French and "Quebecer" in English are meant to include everyone living in Quebec. But not in the Harper motion—which seems to refer exclusively to the descendants of the early settlers. It's an attachment that would make being labelled racist if central to a pure heart Québecois.

Quebecers were not demonstrating for such a debate and such a motion, CROP's Giguère says. "It's fair to assume that everyone here, including federalists, think that Quebec is a diverse society—and that if it could be recognized as such, and get a few exclusive powers in the bargain, Canada's problems would be solved forever." In the meantime, everyone was envious to see a comfortable status quo.

But for how long, now? Already on the night of the vote, lawyer and political gadfly Guy Bernard was strong-brother now poster-brother. "Now that Quebec is a nation, it is still in its own team at the 2008 world hockey tournament," he told a *Journal de*

Montreal reporter.

Plus ça change. ■

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THE NEW QUEBECIEN decade has turned to creating a melting pot that speaks French

and separation—and citizens were quick to mobilize and wave the fleur-de-lis. But now it seems the tables have turned. The debate over that "nation motion" reached a fewish peak on the Toronto media, where critics talked of "bilingual nation," and forecast "the end of race Canada." But the reaction was much more subdued in Quebec. Here, the

controversies swirling as well. "For many, the motion [in Ottawa] was just stating the obvious," says Alain Giguère, head of the CROP polling firm, explaining the apparent lack of excitement.

They also noted, though, seemed as barely divided over the issue as they were by the referendum of October 1995. "You know by



LIBERAL HOPEFULS Rock and Ignatieff: Canadians would be just as happy with leaders who stay off politics/3000

Too smart for their own good

An exclusive poll shows a serious weakness in the Liberal front-runners

BY CHARLIE GILLIS • It might have looked the middle of Trudeau in '88, or the intrigue of Dalton Tappin underwriting John Diefenbaker in the Tory race of '67. But Ignatieff and Rae have both in common, all right—their faces have been plastered on every major news outlet in the past few weeks. Both are seen as serious contenders for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Both are seen as serious contenders for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Both are seen as serious contenders for the leadership of the Liberal Party.

Neither Rae nor Ignatieff would fare well against the stolid-but-determined Harper. The survey was conducted online with current members of Innovative's Canada 20/20 panel between Nov. 23 and 27. The study drew from 857 responses and country-wide figures are considered accurate within 3.2 percentage points. 19 times out of 20. Readers interested in participating in such surveys can join the panel by going to Canwide2020.com.

Liberals' best hope of supplanting the Conservatives in an upcoming election may lie in bookish Stephen Dean, whose 20 per cent rating was regarded as greater than Prime Minister's favourite, Ignatieff's 17 per cent. But Ignatieff's 17 per cent rating was regarded as greater than Prime Minister's favourite, Ignatieff's 17 per cent.

In a snapshot, neither of the two front-runners is a serious contender for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Both are seen as serious contenders for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Both are seen as serious contenders for the leadership of the Liberal Party.

NEITHER RAE NOR IGNATIEFF WOULD FARE WELL AGAINST THE STOLID-BUT-DETERMINED HARPER



leader who would protect the interests of people like me," fully 44 per cent of our respondents did not agree, compared to a mere 17 per cent who did. The issue is presented as a serious question for the Liberal Party, as Ignatieff's 17 per cent rating was regarded as greater than Prime Minister's favourite, Ignatieff's 17 per cent.

Prospers for Rae look better, but only marginally. The former NDP premier of Ontario once had a reputation for being a serious contender for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Both are seen as serious contenders for the leadership of the Liberal Party.

by the bookish Ignatieff. Ignatieff's 17 per cent rating was regarded as greater than Prime Minister's favourite, Ignatieff's 17 per cent. Ignatieff's 17 per cent rating was regarded as greater than Prime Minister's favourite, Ignatieff's 17 per cent.

comes, so he's slightly better shape."

The question then for Ignatieff is, given that all the front-runners trail Harper, which candidate has the greatest potential for growth? The results from the 2020 poll suggest both Dean and Ignatieff, the former Ontario education minister, are up better footing than Ignatieff or Rae. After har-

win, may be paying dividends. "The issues are there," says Allan Tappin, a professor of political science at the University of British Columbia. "He's always been Liberal, he's got very limited baggage. So I'm not talking about the broader climate, I think people look at the established record within the party, the record within government and the record in terms of integrity. At a certain point, that outweighs look or charisma."

Still, Dean remains a liability for the party in Quebec, a fact that his greatest fans can't

RAE'S PROSPECTS MAY LIE WITH A TIME-TRIED FORMULA FOR LIBERAL SUCCESS: SIPHONING OFF NDP VOTES



ALTMAN/OUTLINE: The bookish Dean has no political baggage he remains a liability in Quebec

ing a list of descriptions of each candidate's political and professional history, fully 10 per cent of respondents said Rae's record in Ontario made them less likely to vote Liberal, while Ignatieff's long absence from the country and his support for the Iraq war worried 33 per cent. By comparison, just 10 per cent were turned off by Ignatieff's record in Ontario. The former Ontario education minister, are up better footing than Ignatieff or Rae. After har-

Whether Dean emerges as the Acadian favorite for Liberal delegates is a toss-up. The weekend. But experts say his long record of ethical conduct and courageous political moves, like the clarity of action on Quebec's econ-

avoid. Fully 66 per cent of Rae Quebecers voters in our 2020 poll rejected out of hand the idea that Dean could represent their interests, put five per cent said his record made them more likely to vote Liberal. It is a serious matter, notes Lyle, as country-wide ambivalence toward all the parties that nearly a year of Tory power has failed to dislodge. While Harper struggles to increase the 10-vote support that won him a majority in January, the Conservatives' hold on power by a narrow margin is under threat. The 2020 poll found 15 per cent of respondents agreed that, no matter when the Liberal party moves the weekend, it is the same old gang that was in power for 21 years.

An uphill climb, indeed. ■

ON THE WEB: For live coverage of the Liberal leadership throughout the convention visit: www.macleans.ca/liberalcon

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LOSING THE LOTTERY

A controversial site for immigrants changes its name, but not its tactics

BY MICHAEL FRICOLANTE • On Jan. 1, the Canadian Immigration Lottery will celebrate its second birthday. To mark the occasion, Chih Lytle, the man who launched the online two-pottery, plans to draw 50 winners on a single day—49 more than usual. That's not the only change. After nearly two years in business, Lytle has also opted for a new name: "Welcome to the Canadian Immigration Financial Assistance website," the home page now reads.

Not quite so catchy, but the modification might be just enough to appease industry regulators, who have spent the past few months investigating Lytle's so-called lottery. As first reported in *Maclean's*, the controversial contest offers worthless Canadian dollars for a US\$100 fee—the chance to win an all-expenses-paid visa application. Thousands have entered, and every day, the photo of a new "winner" is posted on the site. "This is my lifetime dream getting fulfilled on a platter of gold," wrote one lucky foreigner. Fellow immigration consultants are not so thrilled. Some consider the site's success to risk new applicants who believe they can actually win a life in Canada—which, of course, they can't. The lottery affords free paperwork, but that certainly doesn't guarantee the government will rubber stamp it. The website also fails to mention whether fair the winners' prizes, and the company's car, an unlicensed one, has been the source of many angry letters.

"It's illegal 100 per cent," Lytle insists from his Montreal office. "All my clients are happy and they defend me on the website." So why change the name? "That's my business," he answers. "I don't need that name." Lytle insists the lottery was never a lottery at all. It was a "marketing tool," and anyone who reads the rules knows exactly what the grand prize is: paperwork, not paradise. "It's not holding anybody," Lytle says. "It's a lottery."

That's right. It is called the Canadian Immigration Financial Assistance program—not the Canadian Immigration Lottery. And if you don't believe him, check out the website for yourself. The address is www.welcomecanada.com.

NATIONAL

THE NOT SO FRIENDLY SKIES

When flight schools fill up with foreign trainees, authorities get nervous

BY JONATHAN DATEROSKE • For most beginner pilots, getting a stamp in their log book—proof of hours spent aloft as they work toward a license—is as complicated as reaching down, walking into a window office and asking: "Is this certificate?" It's often the local flight club that controls the certificate, but in a pinch, Transport Canada will issue pretty much any stamp with a pilot name and date. It's not usually a matter for the police. But after Sept. 11, it all depends on who's asking.

Karen Tyagi learned that lesson this past summer in Windsor, Ont. The 19-year-old 18-year-old from New Delhi and two of his fellow flight school students found themselves answering pointed questions about why they had journeyed so close to the American border. "They asked me if I was involved in terrorist activities and I just laughed," says Tyagi. "They had a whole bunch of questions." Forget the fact that all three of the applicants were from India, and find a 100-per-cent American in an instant is enough to raise suspicion these days.

Five years after the attacks on New York and Washington, business is better than ever for Canadian flight schools, and almost all of it is coming from abroad. Still, expanding economies have created a huge demand for new pilots, and with American skies still full of closed-to foreign-trained air flyers, newcomers north of the border are happily picking up the slack. Even if it means submitting themselves—and their intentions—to the scrutiny of police, intelligence services and security-conscious members of the local community.

Amos International Canada, the Guelph, Ont., flight school that Tyagi attends, started advertising its services in India a little over a year ago. It now has 29 foreign students enrolled in a one-year course for the license and equipment ratings needed to fly commercial aircraft. The uptick in activity at the small private airport on the edge of the city hasn't gone unnoticed. "They're all young kids between 18 and 25. And people say a large group of you know, non-Canadians, everyone kind of seems to wonder," says Roger Lytle, and recently the school's chief flying instructor. "Then they see them driving



ONE SCHOOL: In Guelph (above) has 29 foreign students in its commercial airline program

around as big as with Amos International splashed across the side and people say, 'What's going on?'"

The school has been receiving regular visits from Guelph police, the OPP, RCMP, and CBS. Staff point along philosophies of all foreign applicants, even their accents. Lytle says CBS has asked him to be on the lookout for odd behaviour, and pay particular attention to applicants from certain areas. The school is only too happy to co-operate. "This is the kind of business that if you have one bad apple then you're dead," says Lytle. "I'm not saying anything suspicious, they'd have to live in 15 minutes."

However, which operates flight schools in the Winnipeg area coordinates of St. John's and St. Andrew's, training some 250 foreign pilots a year, also finds itself under the microscope. "The students are a different colour and people look out sometimes," says owner Alan Penner. Last year, a dining lady called the RCMP after a large truck appeared in one of the dormitories. It con-

tained clothing and personal effects. Penner tries to make his charges aware of the tricky attitudes, warning them not to read their mailing manuals when travelling across the border. For example, while the police worry about students falling into the Muslim world, he says his bigger concern is that they work hard and don't fritter away their parents' money.

For the most part, the police in training are satisfied by the occasional rude behaviour. Devendra Sood, a 23-year-old from Punjab, near Mumbai, who arrived in Guelph in mid-October, says he expects the scrutiny. His first experience was welcomed by Const.



ONE SCHOOL: In Guelph (above) has 29 foreign students in its commercial airline program

able authorities who questioned why someone with an undergraduate degree in geology and petroleum technology wanted to study aviation. "These guys are doing their job, they need to be sure they'll be able to," he says. India's aviation look disconcerting on Canadian trained candidates because of its country's tough start and difficult flying conditions. But it's still the second choice, Sood adds. "Getting a U.S. visa is a nightmare. That's why everybody comes here."

Adrian Penner, operations manager for Harvatec, based in the extra government attention that the foreigner has attracted. "The Oklahoma City bombing proved that you have to watch out for who gets around, too," he says. But with the family business now double what it was in 2004, it's hard to look the gift horse in the mouth. "I'm 30, I was competing with Harbats and St. John's but I'm known for my pilot's test." ■

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GENOCIDE IN SLOW MOTION

Sudanese-backed janjaweed are escalating a racist conflict beyond Darfur into nearby Chad. Does the West care enough to stop it?

BY MICHAEL PETROU • PHOTOGRAPHS BY DONALD WERNER

Abdullah Idnani began to lose his normally cheerful disposition about one year ago, when Arab janjaweed raiders looted the last of his cattle. He became nervous and withdrawn. Still, the young father of two, a member of Chad's Dajwa tribe who lived about 10 km from the Sudanese regional capital of N'Djamena, tried to provide for his wife and two young children by growing and selling grain and producing a lifestyle change for a man whose family had always lived by herding.

But the raids and looting continued. Dajwa, and members of other black tribes in Chad, tried moving their villages together to protect themselves by force of numbers. They formed patrols to guard their farms. But the black tribesmen were armed with only bows and arrows and spears. The Arabs had machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades and pickup trucks, and they could loot at will.

At first, the raiders reached their farms to disguise themselves, but their victims soon recognized them as local Arabs with whom they had intermarried even married for decades. These locals were joined by other Arabs with unfamiliar faces. Sometimes they wore military khaki and rode camels with brands identifying the animals as belonging to tribes in Sudan.

The severity of the attacks escalated from theft to murder. One morning earlier this fall, during the celebration of Ramadan, Arab raiders attacked the village of M'ramanga, killing seven and capturing 11 men, including Adam Daudou Gannawa, Abdullah Idnani's neighbor. Forty mercenaries rode into the vil-

lage while others stood outside with guns. They attacked everyone inside the village and then came after those of us in the fields," Gannawa says. "When they caught us, they tied our hands behind our backs and dragged us to a nearby Arab village. Then they began hauling groups of five away, but not so far that the rest of us couldn't watch. The Arabs shot them one by one. If the gas jammed, or if the bullets did not kill the victims, they took sticks, stones, knives, anything at all, and they beat them until they were dead."

Gannawa watched 10 of his fellow villagers murdered this way, all the while he begged and strained against the ropes binding his wrists. He finally loosened his bonds. When his captives came to take his group to their deaths, Gannawa slipped free. The mercenaries charged after him but could not maneuver quickly around the charred trees, and Gannawa evaded them. He plunged into a field of sorghum, and ran.

Gannawa came back later that evening with local police and found 15 bodies strewn on the ground. He begged for a moment that the running five had somehow gotten away alive. Then they saw thick tracks through the sand where something heavy had been dragged. The Arabs had cut ropes around the necks of the five Dajwa and pulled them behind their horses until the men died. When Gannawa found their bodies, some were missing their heads. Hidden gunmen shot at Gannawa and the police as they tried to bury the dead.

Gannawa moved to the village of Kalo, where more 5,000 Dajwa and members of other black tribes in Chad were sheltering from marauding janjaweed. A water pump was still functioning just outside the village, but the women sent to fetch water were raped as soon



DISPLACED CHADIAN VICTIMS of the (and around). Their government is incapable of securing their safety from the Sudanese



BLINDED BY THE ANJAWEED Abdallah Idris was attacked outside his village, pinned to the ground and blinded with a bagnet

as they left the settlement.

Here, Gannar was reunited with his uncle, Abdallah Idris. Idris's own village of Mbel-oyya had been attacked and burned, and his family had also fled to Koley. On Nov. 11, Idris took a donkey back to his village to see if there was anything left to recover. While he was gone, hundreds of armed men on horseback and on foot surrounded Koley. They began their attack just as Idris returned. Other villagers had already fled, but Idris didn't know an attack was coming until he was too late. The armed men Idris had charged after him on horseback Idris jumped off his donkey and ran. The armed men opened fire.

"None of the bullets hit him," says Gannar, who shot Idris himself and saw every thing that happened next. Gannar said that the armed men blindfolded Idris with a cloth because he was wearing a leather sash that contained verses from the Koran, so as many soldiers in Chad who feel they need some protection. "They chased him down on their horses. The horses leaped over him, and when he fell on his knees, one of them came and hit him on the head and on each arm. They held his face to the sky. Another stood over him with a knife, but when he pulled the trigger nothing happened because of the holy verses. Abdallah knew who his attackers

were, and he called out to them by name, begging them to stop. But the men with the rifle removed in bypassed. He knelt on Abdallah's chest. He took his knife and dug out each of Abdallah's eyes."

Today, Abdallah Idris lives in a tent in a large horse field hospital in Gao, in northeastern Chad, surrounded by dozens of other victims of armed attacks. His wife Idrisa looked with the other women and mothers in the hospital's sandy yard, and brings it to his bed along with their two children, Basma, 5, and Yana, 2. She looks almost overcome with despair. When Abdallah's mother heard what had happened to her son, she was so stricken that she needed to be hospitalized herself.

Adnan Douma Gannar also spends much of his time at the hospital, trying to comfort his uncle and support their family. "Before all this happened, Abdallah was happy and lived a normal life," Gannar says. "He had cows, and he had good relations with everybody. Now perhaps he will be better off dead."

ABDULLAH IDRIS is only one of a growing number of victims in a rising tide of slaughter that has washed over Darfur's borders and now threatens to engulf eastern Chad. After three years of ethnic cleansing and

genocide against non-Arab blacks in Darfur—a horror the world has been unwilling, or unable, to address—Arab jihadists and their partners in the government of Sudan have targeted their sights on black villages across the border, where the Chadian government of Idriss Deby is responsible of securing the safety of its own citizens. In addition to the anjaweed, several rebel groups intent on overthrowing Deby's government are now active in Chad and have recently assisted several major towns in the east of the country. Deby accuses Sudan (page 41) of supporting the Chadian rebels, and most observers believe he is correct. At least one of the rebel columns reportedly entered Chadian territory from Sudan.

The renewed push into Chad (page 10) is a danger not escalation of a conflict fueled by a racist ideology. Estimates of the death toll range from 200,000 to 500,000—it's a safe bet that a quarter of a million people have been slaughtered, and another two million displaced. The West has watched this unfold for three years, and despite all attempts by the government of Sudan to hide what is happening in its country, we still never be able to claim we didn't know what was occurring, or, as was the case with the genocide in Rwanda, that the murder and mayhem un-

DEBIL 1817 (top) used the rules of his game in Labotege, Chad, to make refugees in their own land (bottom)

folded too quickly. This is genocide in slow motion, well documented and undeniable.

The government in Khartoum, led by Omar al-Bashir, has refused, led and frustrated all attempts to find a diplomatic solution. But the rest of the world appears willing to play along with the idea that the day after tomorrow work, because the situation—intervening in Darfur without Sudanese consent—is daunting. Darfur is roughly the size of France. The terrain is harsh. There are few roads, and there are often washed out during the rainy season. And a Sudanese war against unrelenting international forces would likely attract volunteer militiamen from outside Sudan. Immense things could go wrong.

Khartoum has so far allowed 7,000 African Union soldiers into the country—unprecedented force that has been unable to curb the violence. The United Nations has asked the Sudanese government to approve expanding the outside contingent to 20,000—which it has refused to do. The logistics become even more daunting when the prospect of armed intervention is added. In Iraq, for example, a U.S.-led coalition of some 160,000 troops is unable to stop this country's slide into anarchy. Some experts say that in Iraq the ethnic violence that has gripped Sudan and a new uprising across the border, the international community would have to master a force that runs here in the hands of thousands.

That, finally, is not in the cards. And any such intervention against the wishes of a hostile regime in Khartoum would need the participation of the world's remaining super power, the United States. But given the ongoing war in Iraq, and the fact that U.S. troops make up 90 per cent of the coalition contingent there, Washington has little if any authority for other large-scale military operations. "There is no stomach for an intervention without Sudanese agreement," says Mission Administrator, a former U.S. diplomat and past president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "The United States and the U.K. have been sidelined because the Iraq war has consumed us—we don't have the will, we don't have the concentration or the determination to intervene." The other Western powers are no different, says Administrator, now senior fellow at the Century Foundation in Washington, a non-profit public policy research organization. "The Europeans are like the Americans. They write their hands and would like to do something, but aren't prepared to do the hard things that are required." It's a sad reality that when lives are at stake, sometimes more searching language. In May, Samantha Power, the Anna Lindh professor



"THE FINAL ACT OF THIS WAR WILL BE FOUGHT IN CHAD. IT IS REMARKABLE, NOT THAT WAR BROKE OUT IN CHAD, BUT THAT IT TOOK SO LONG TO BREAK OUT."

of practice of global leadership and public policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, wrote in *The New Republic* about a large anti-genocide rally in Washington's National Mall that attracted tens of thousands of people. "Sudanese refugees could not believe their eyes," she said, "as they saw a sea of all races, religions, and eth-

nic origins wearing T-shirts that read, 'I stand in mourning a genocide, stop one.' But her prognosis for action by the U.S. government and other Western nations was bleak. "Sadly—with U.S. military assets stretched to their breaking point, U.S. political capital dwindling, and U.S. capacity for moral leadership at its lowest point in history—the United States cannot stop this genocide without the help of others. And the countries that have the troops, political will and legitimacy to enter Darfur to halt the violence seem largely ill-equipped. They are under acute domestic pressure, and they are nervous of Bush's motives for speaking out. Even if the administration responds to the mass ethnic hatred, should the rest of the world remain on the sidelines, the people of Darfur will remain out of luck." Complicating matters is the fact that Sudan has some powerful friends. Russia has a mili-



stary reduced co-operation treaty with Khartoum that dates back to 2002, and he told the regime NIG as jet fighters. Still, even Moscow appeared ready to sign on to a 2004 UN Security Council move to impose sanctions on Sudan. It was the Chinese who scuttled that resolution—and still wonder. China is the largest supplier of arms to the government in Khartoum. More than that, the oil hungry regime in Beijing gets at least five per cent—and counting—of its imported oil from Sudan, which for Sudanese translates into just over 50 per cent of its total oil exports. Thanks largely to Sudan's oil wealth, China has created an estimated US\$16 billion in the country since the 1990s. Being over half a century between 5,000 and 10,000 workers in Sudan. And, as New York based global political risk advisory and consulting firm the Eurasia Group routinely warns, some of

THE ROOTS OF MISERY IN DARFUR ARE LONG AND TWISTED, BUT MANY LEAD TO THE UNLIKELY SOURCE OF MOAMMAR GADHAFI, MEGALOMANIACAL DICTATOR OF LIBYA

there are "discontented People's Liber army being soldiers charged with protecting China's investments."

MEANWHILE, the slaughter continues, and the consequences of not taking action against Sudan have resulted in the 450,000 people in Darfur now being named as one

PARCHARIA CAMP is home to 15,000 people displaced from Darfur. "If we had guns we would never be living like this."

the border in Chad. Victims of jawawed attacks in the neighbouring country than for murder in the hundreds. But the death toll has the potential of becoming much worse. "It has been clear for the last two years that the final act of this war will be fought in Chad," says Alex de Waard, a fellow at the Global Equity Initiative at Harvard University and co-author of *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War*. "It is a sadly foreseeable—not that we broke out in Chad, but that it took so long to break out."

The prevailing ethnic dynamic in eastern Chad—Arab nomads and non-Arab farmers—was almost perfect reflection of demographics in Darfur. And the manner told by internally displaced people in Chad are also almost identical to those told by refugees from Darfur. Arabs on horseback and on camels ride into targeted villages, looting, raping, burning houses and driving away anyone they haven't shot or otherwise murdered. Sudanese planes have repeatedly flown across the border into Chad to assist in these attacks.

Survivors also report that they recognize their attackers as members of local Arab tribes. Other times their attitudes are unknown and have almost certainly crossed the largely unpatrolled border from Darfur. "The problem comes from Sudan," says Mohamed Bakir, 67, owner of Bakirya village, which has suffered numerous raids. "The Arabs have finished in Darfur, and now they are marching here. Sudanese Arab crossed the border and then local Arabs guided them in these attacks."

Bakir says that local men from Bakirya armed themselves with spears, bows and arrows and formed ad hoc militia to track and destroy their cattle. "Before they followed their livestock across the border into Sudan. Another man, Abdullah Abdul Karim, spoke up to say that this village once had good relations with local Arabs. "We married women from their tribes, and they married from us. Then Arabs from Chad came and convinced the Arabs from Sudan to kill the blacks."

Several villages, the village on either side of Bakirya were attacked and burned. Scores were murdered. Bakirya made it because their days were numbered and decided to flee. Idriss Bakir stayed behind with some farmhands and villagers to wait for other members of his village to return with pack animals. While they were gone, the jawawed came. Idriss Bakir climbed a tree and watched as his men swept into the village, sprayed bullets into the church-mosque houses and then set them alight. Bakir thought the village was empty, but one woman, Tama Abdul Karim, was too



A FEEDING PROGRAM at Parcharia. As head of the jawawed, Musa Haddad describes his campaign of murder, arson and rape as " Jihad."

old and tried to run. She stayed behind, and was burned alive in her house.

Idriss Bakir relies on his sitting beneath the shade of a thorn tree on the dusty road leading from Gao Sella, writing verses from the Koran onto wooden tablets. When he finishes composing the holy words, the ink will be washed off and given to the sick and injured to drink. Other members of his village sit scattered beneath nearby trees. Because they are Christians, not in refugees from Sudan, international aid organizations can do little for them. They have no tents, and small amounts of water and food.

Hanging from tree branches are masts over a series of goat-tipped arrows and primitive bows. Young boys riding donkeys on the outskirts of settlements carry bows as well, just in case. "If we had guns, we would never be living like this. We would go back and fight them," and Abdullah Abdul Karim, 48. Idriss Bakir. "They have machine guns. We have bows and arrows. What can we do?"

The mass murder and ethnic cleansing in eastern Chad have been described as "intercommunal violence," and a many tribal disputes bubbling out of control. But the violence is overwhelmingly one-sided. Arab villagers are untouched—although some black tribes appear to have joined the Arab jawawed

Abdullah Bakir, for example, was blinded by six men, of whom two were black.

"It appears that Arabs have struck up deals—either village by village or by coalition—with certain black groups to facilitate or coordinate against other black groups," says Matthew Conway, spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Chad. Idriss Bakir, a Daju man from the village of Labataga, confirms that before his village was attacked, local Arabs visited twice and issued an ultimatum: join or we will destroy you. The villages refused—and Labataga was burned to the ground. One man was killed.

Machad's companion said that other villagers back to the still-unsettling ruins of Labataga. The villagers suffered through the attacks, but eating and drinking daily meals, looking for belongings they had hidden before the attacks. The attacks had even destroyed metal boxes of chalk and school supplies. One full of grain were broken open and the contents burned. "There is nothing I can say. I'm so sad," and Toghba Bakir, standing in front of a high circle of mud bricks that had once been his house. The roof was a pile of salvaged ground. "I wanted to bury my house again. Maybe there is something here for me." He looked for a sewing machine one of his wives had hidden, but found nothing.

Nearby, Mamer Mohamed's women from race. He dug through sandy soil and silk and he found the valuables his mother had carried there. They consisted of two pots used to make each other, and inside the smaller pot, carefully wrapped in cloth, three bars of soap. "I'm very happy," he said. "I have found something for my mother."

THE ROOTS of the misery in Darfur—and now in Chad—are long and twisted, but many lead to the unlikely source of Col. Muammar Gaddafi, the megalomaniacal dictator of Libya.

In the 1960s and '70s, a racist ideology of Arab supremacy took hold in North Africa, and Gaddafi became its most ardent proponent. He declared of an "Arabist" that would stretch across the Sahel, and beyond that, that would stretch across the Sahara Desert. Chad would be annexed to Libya, Gaddafi believed, and eventually a Sahelian empire would be established across the continent.

Gaddafi never achieved his grandiose ambitions, but he tried. He founded an "Islamic Legion" and set up training camps in the Libyan desert that attracted Arabs from one end of the desert to the other. He provided weapons and money to various Arab and Islamist movements, including in Sudan, and he announced the "unity" of Libya and Chad, which ended



poorly for Gadhafi with his solitary forces defeated and Chad still sovereign.

Nevertheless, the unity played by Gadhafi found fertile ground and eventually sprung forth in the form of a secret organization calling itself the Tajana of Anlo, or the Anlo Gathering, which advocates Anlo supremacism and Islamic extremism. Documents have shown the group's links to "intelligence and security leaders" from other Anlo countries, and its camps have hosted military trainers from Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Anlo Gathering emerged in Darfur in the early 1980s, distributing propaganda that denoted the "Slaves" had ruled Darfur long enough. Violent attacks on non-Anlo areas followed. Divisions between blacks and Anlos in Darfur had deep roots, but not in their marriage and other harmonious interactions. Even the distinction between "black" and "Arab" were not always clear, and sometimes had more to do with a tribe's culture and lifestyle than the appearance of its members. But the male racism of Anlo supremacists turned Darfur's inter-ethnic society apart.

Another major cause of the violence between blacks and Anlos in Darfur, and fueled as much as the Sabel, is the violent expansion of the Sahara Desert, which has forced Anlo nomads to drive their herds of camels and cattle farther south, where they compete for available land with non-Anlo settled farmers. In the past, such disputes might have resulted in a few deaths, but in the eradication of waterborne diseases has made those fights far bloodier.

Finally, although almost everyone in Darfur is Muslim, religious bigotry has also played a role. The Koma was involved in the Prophet Mohammed in the Arabic language and, for Anlo supremacists calling Darfur, this is proof enough of their religious as well as

THE JANJAWED'S ULTIMATE GOAL WAS DEFINED EXPLICITLY AND SUCCESSFULLY IN 2004: 'CHANGE THE DEMOGRAPHY OF DARFUR AND EMPTY IT OF AFRICAN TRIBES'

racial superiority.

Nowhere is the moral decay of these men more evident than in the family of Sheikh Mohd Mohamed Abdalla. The patriarch, who died in 1994, was by most accounts a just leader. He guided his people through times of good relations with neighboring black tribes, and in his twilight years myself remember about his youth hunting lions with the British colonizers and colonial officer Wilfrid Thacker. Sheikh Mohd's son, Musa Mohd, has inherited his father's tradition of personal leadership, but not the ethics. At head of both the Anlo Gathering and the Janjawed, he led the younger to assassinate and to persecute. He described his campaign of murder, arson and rape against his fellow Muslims as " jihad."

The government of Sudan first began arming Anlo militia in Darfur during the late 1990s. But it was not until 2001, when his own non-Anlo tribes had joined together in a united rebel movement and began to inflict defeats on government forces, that Sudan unleashed the Janjawed in force against the black civilian population of Darfur.

The excuse for targeting non-Arabians might have been their alleged support for the rebels, but the Janjawed's ultimate goal was defined, explicitly and successfully, in an August 2004 directive from Musa Mohd's headquarters: "Change the demography of

THE ONLY GROUPS willing to confront the Janjawed are the Sudan Liberation Army and their allies, seen here in a safe house.

Darfur and empty it of African tribes."

Two years later, Mohd and his Janjawed hordes have all but achieved their goal. Darfur has been largely emptied of "African" tribes. Those who have not been murdered are living in camps in Sudan or Chad.

The only force willing to seriously confront the Janjawed are members of Darfur's rebel groups, the largest of whom are the Sudan Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement, which are now co-opted along with other, smaller groups under the banner of the National Liberation Front. Another feature of the SLA split from the rebels that spring and allied itself with the Sudanese government, following the signing of a peace agreement in Abuja that didn't bring any peace.

The Darfur rebels have inflicted significant defeats on the government of Sudan, but they are facing a regional power armed with attack helicopters and all the weapons and reserves of oil can buy.

Mohd's men with their rebels in some points in the Chadian capital N'Djamena, and in safe houses a few hundred miles from the border with Sudan, where fighters recovered from bullet wounds and severed limbs suffered during fighting in Darfur. The Chadian government provides safe haven for these men, although the fighters themselves say they require no direct support. They told Mohd that they took up arms after their villages were attacked by Janjawed or by Sudanese government soldiers. "We are fighting for our land and a home for our people," said Ibrahim, a Sudanese Arab, an armed fighter. "This is why we can face opponents regardless of how powerful their weapons are."

Men are coming from the African Union, whose intervention in Darfur was proposed as a potential solution to the crisis. The UN soldiers are greatly under-equipped, but the rebels claim that the AU also suffers from a lack of will to seriously confront the Janjawed. "We have no faith in the African Union. They can't do this," said Mohamed Yous Abdallah, an SLA fighter. Added Ayad Mohamed, another SLA member: "The UN is supposed to come from the United Nations, not the African Union. The African Union has had a long time here, and they haven't solved anything."

Adnan Al-Shayea, a spokesman and senior commander in the SLA, and that the rebel movement is growing all the time, and he added that the SLA is trying to recruit Arabs as well as blacks in preparation for a more

Continued on page 41

WORLD

WOMEN In Darfur's CAMP (left), a wounded SLA soldier. The international community has cracked and shifted.

united Darfur. But fighting continues, and hundreds of refugees have been driven across the border into Chad in recent weeks. The war in Darfur is far from over.

Khartoum's only moral voice and in Darfur, or even Chad. Rebel columns, allegedly sponsored by Sudan and possibly anguished there, have also been on the move in the Central African Republic (page 41), which borders both Chad and Sudan. "The Central African Republic is not on the firing line," de Waal says. "Chad and the Central African Republic will rise and fall together."

In short, violence that began in Darfur is moving beyond its borders, and anyone can see when and where it will end. "I think she will realize," de Waal says. "I think she will realize to talk about a new genocide in Darfur. I'd be much more worried about Chad."

THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN is capable of learning from recent events, even if we in the West are utterly blind. It has, after all, pressed ahead with its murderous rampage in Darfur for three years, while the international community looked on and sat on its hands. All this time, Khartoum negotiated and signed diplomatic agreements that have amounted to nothing on the ground.

The United Nations Security Council, in which so many Darfur refugees still put so much hope, has once again revealed itself to be self-righteous and impotent in equal measure. Any resolution with teeth will be blocked by China, which depends more and more on Sudan as of Arab and the UN's support and has repeatedly shown its twisted, closed mind. As a result, Khartoum propaganda claims that any force sent to Darfur must be predominantly African. Such diplomatic back-peddling is well described by General Francis, adviser of Darfur's Anlo Army General, who wrote: "African solutions to African problems" has become the politically correct way of saying "We do not really care."

In Canada, opposition parties have demanded that Canada pledge soldiers for a UN mission in Sudan. Keith Martin, the Liberal party's opposition critic for foreign affairs, told the Sudanese government "a group of pathological liars and murderers," and says that the UN should send a peacekeeping force into Darfur. "Whether Khartoum likes it or not," the NDP is not going to back down. Jack Layton argues that Canadian troops should be made available for a UN mission, but won't say whether he'd support deploying them to Sudan without the consent of the Sudanese government. The Canadian government, for its part, says it will consider



THE SLA IS TRYING TO RECRUIT ARABS AS WELL AS BLACKS FOR A MORE UNITED DARFUR, BUT THE FIGHTING CONTINUES, AND WAR IN DARFUR IS FAR FROM OVER.

any request for assistance from the United Nations, but has not yet received any.

According to a de Waal, sending troops into Sudan against the wishes of the Sudanese government would be a "disaster." He estimates that imposing peace in Darfur, without the cooperation of Khartoum, would require up to 200,000 soldiers, more than 10 times

the number allotted by UN Resolution 1706, which Khartoum has promptly ignored.

The bitter truth is that the international community is incapable of mounting the resources and the will to send such a force, and support for even a more modest deployment would fade over the course of a difficult mission that would likely cost many soldiers. But here's another bitter truth: Our failure to prevent the genocide in Darfur is a moral stain. Sometimes, ending the slaughter of innocents requires immense sacrifice. Ghana has been underway in Darfur for three years. It appears pretty to assist. And we're still doing nothing to stop it. M

With Laura Ch. Seeger

ON THE WEB: For our exclusive photo gallery showing life in Chad's refugee camps, visit www.macleans.ca/darfur

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YOU SHOULD never have dreamed of how important journalists are in Washington

How to really get along with the U.S.

Allan Gottlieb reveals his strategy for getting Washington to listen

BY LIZZIA CH. SAYRAJE • Nearly 30 years have passed since Allan Gottlieb left his post as Canada's ambassador to the U.S., first under Pierre Trudeau and then from Mulroney. But his shadow still hovers over the embassy and his name with, Souders, both serve Winnipeggers, run the mission to the U.S. in a way that no one is to since reached. His career and follow many of "Gottlieb's rules" of diplomacy that the Rhodes Scholar had out over men that even memorable years among them. "We are not simply two close friends with one-on-one occasionally suffering from abhorrent policies," Gottlieb is now publishing his private journal, opening the begin-

nings of the Free Trade Agreement, the softwood lumber dispute, acid rain and the first mentions of missile defence—or, as he puts it, "One Damn Thing After Another." The *Washington Observer* are very much like the man himself: alternately self-congratulatory, policy wonk-dry and bludgeoning funny, with insights that withstand the test of time. "Americans just do not see us as different from themselves," he writes. "When we do something different, Americans feel betrayed. They don't see us as foreigners but as perverse Americans." There was certainly some common ground that helped Gottlieb press Canada's case in Washington. He was the shared operator who ingrained himself with Ronald Reagan's closest advisers, and pioneered aggressive

advocacy in Congress. Like well was the strong business who penned several columns in the *Washington Post* that left Ottawa bureaucrats apoplectic. It wasn't all champagne and roses, as in the Gottlieb's case, Winnipeg's golden Canadian crisis gripped about the entertainment bills. A former White House deputy chief of staff turned lobbyist, Michael Downes, lived to tell his Canadian's profile, was recognized for corruption and criticized of peering hands was so evasive by the news of his entrance scoring accommodations for a Mulroney visit that the governor's secretary on employment day, making headlines in both countries. But it was all part and parcel, as Gottlieb noted to chronicle, of "the assembly, if not the faculty, of the task of promoting and defending the interests of Canada in a country which has so long taken us for granted."

Gottlieb's ambassadorship began auspiciously. When he first arrived at the White House in December 1983 to present his credentials, he was "bumped" together with the representatives of Gabon, Upper Volta, Tunisia, Ireland, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. "The ceremony lasted seven minutes. 'No doubt this was a mark of our special relationship,'" he writes. When he called on the legendary Democratic Speaker of the House, Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, there were another 18 or so people waiting for his audience. "He pumps my hand," Gottlieb writes of his term. "I tell him who I am. He smiles, graciously, and tells me what a great country I represent, and wishes us 'The greatest land in the world.'"

When calling on members of Congress, Gottlieb concludes, "One always feels in a toughie he is begging. One is: The challenge: how to beg and keep one's dignity."

The answer, it turns out, was to embrace Jane Austen's dictum that everything happens at parties. "Success in Washington means access, and access requires contacts," Gottlieb writes. "Here, the social event is the playing field where contacts are won." Both he and Souders were cutting a swath through the social scene. "Last night we dined at Joe Shepley's [a long-time journalist and (faded) host], the chairman of the state committee of the Georgetown School," states one typical entry. "We ate oysters, drank vodka, and had a wonderful time." He also quickly learned to make no one. There is nothing closer through the darts that the Ambassador had cracked a secret Canadian code and were intercepting a few key insights, plus, the Embassy looked like a piece of cake. Meanwhile, the self-described "poor little

Canadian ambassador" shows little grace for the less-than-fanciest of the post. When a well-lit and audiocast in a hall exhibit and little more than a discussion on presentation is shipping. "I gave the best of what they deserved. I read the whole speech slowly and it was long and technical." On an official trip to Ottawa, Tom, he said, "the Canadian ambassador was unbelievable. I was denied through a sea of unknowns, repeating to myself, 'Now are the Canadian ambassador to the United States, his political, his dignified, his noble.'" When the ambassador "wasn't" that he hadn't arrived meeting Canadian labour leaders to a reception, Godtfrid says, "I wanted to tell him to fuck off, but I just walked away."

Some of Godtfrid's most recent moves are now standard practice. For example, much



WITH TRUDEAU (left), the Godtfrids and Reagan: A slew of gossip columns, new rules of diplomacy, champagne and Whirling pinwheels, and the slip board "round the world"

ing beyond the State Department and making Canada's vice-consul to Congress. (For his early air trips, Godtfrid was accused of "sneaking" in American officials, and a spokesman tried to have him recalled.) Like this, he emphasized covering the money made by powerful officials on congressional committees, as well as prominent politicians. "I would never have dreamed of how our people's interests are in Washington," he writes. "My views were shaped by 30 years as Ottawa dealing with the semi-educated press every there."

One might be particularly relevant today, as Canada faces post-9/11 security initiatives likely to complicate border crossings, draw away tourism and trade. Godtfrid observes that diplomatic disputes frequently arise out of White House decisions, but from the railings of border between an idealist agencies that Canadian negotiators at their peril. "Gates caused not by the foreign policy of the United States but by the actions of an idiotic security bureaucracy positioned in obscure agencies."

Godtfrid also pressed for using U.S. business groups to lobby legislation, a practice that has been crucial to managing the border

dispute: "No one cares a thing if a foreign security agency is winning or losing," he says. "They don't care, however, if their own special interests are lost. So to fight a security agreement, all the power is taken when we're not to pay higher prices and we're damn to lobby. To fight a security agreement, get the minister to speak. To fight a security agreement, get the minister to speak. They're worth to ambassadorial calls." He also concludes that Canada has no "friends" in Washington, only "interests" and other countries who have congressmen who repeat their position as a matter of their own political agenda. "I read that a congressman, Italy has a congressman, Greece has a congressman, Canada has none." As a result, he presses Canada to hire lobbyists and consultants, like any other interest group.

WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR US?

As Hugo Chávez spreads his largesse, Venezuelans want in on the action

BY ISABEL VERCHEZ • It may be a surprise of Venezuelan strategists Hugo Chávez's agenda, in his country's current presidential election campaign, he has yielded an opportunity for stronger than his old country is able to produce. Time and again, as his mighty re-election machine rumbles on, he has exhorted Venezuelans "to vote against the devil," a reference to U.S. President George W. Bush, whom he compared to Satan during a speech in September at the United Nations. "In this election," Chavez has declared at numerous campaign rallies, "there are only two candidates—Hugo Chavez and George W. Bush."

Not quite. There is also state governor Manuel Rosales, candidate of the Democratic Action opposition (the party of former Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez, who governed the country during the oil boom of the late 1970s). A veteran politician who is among Venezuela's extremely disgruntled opposition members in this campaign, Rosales, 54, has never lost an election. (He is in his second term as governor of oil-rich Zulia state, and he's 27th year in politics.) He is smart enough to realize that his streak is likely to end when Venezuelans vote on Dec. 5—he has been crafting Chavez's in the polls by 20 points. Still, as the only viable opposition candidate in a country where nearly every aspect of life is controlled by the Chavez regime, Rosales makes a strong point in his campaign speeches—that Chavez has been too busy doing out of wealth to carry favour on the international stage, and has done little for Venezuelans at home since first taking office in 1999.

Should he be elected president, Rosales has promised to address this inequity by distributing a black debit card to Venezuela's poor to allow them to access directly 30 per cent of all of the country's oil earnings. "It may be a lot of money," said Rosales, when questioned about the amount he has pledged to distribute to an estimated two million

MACLEAN'S READERS' CHOICE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE YEAR IN HEALTHCARE

Who made the most significant contribution to healthcare in 2006?

Dr. Hertzberg

Research team leader at McMaster University on medication for slowing the progression from pre-diabetes to diabetes. This is a promising development for "lumpy diabetes" who are approaching the most common age for the onset of Type 2 diabetes.

Dr. Marco Marra

Team leader with BC Cancer Agency's Genome Sciences Centre, for its contribution to the international Bovine Sequencing Project. Dr. Marra's team mapped 30,000 genes containing bovine DNA to better understand Mad Cow and other diseases, and to enhance the nutritional value of beef and dairy products.

Dr. Frank Plummer

Scientific Director of the National Microbiology Laboratory, Winnipeg, for research studying Africans who have an immune-system response resistant to the HIV virus, providing the building blocks for nearly 25 new vaccines and leading to the possible use of preventative microbicide gels.

Heather Crowe

A river-trainer who, before dying of lung cancer on May 22, 2006, led a high-profile campaign to eliminate exposure to second-hand smoke in the workplace. She is credited with influencing legislation to amend labour legislation and impose greater restrictions on smoking in public places.

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improvised Venezuelan with the card, known locally as Mi Negra. "That's a much less than what that government has given other countries."

Indeed, in the last year alone, Chávez has been working actively with some success, to influence presidential election campaigns from Peru to Ecuador and Nicaragua. He has supplied left-wing Sandinista municipalities in Nicaragua with cheap oil, and has even contributed to Rio de Janeiro's annual Carnival

parade, when the country is falling to pieces." Others share that view. "As a result of an autocratic style, intense wars, hundreds of unfulfilled promises, widespread corruption by him and his cronies, Cuban influence in our society and way of life, and billions of dollars in gifts to other countries to buy international support for the so-called revolution, Chávez has lost the favour of the people," said Leon E. Gonsky, a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, in a recent interview with Maclean's. Gonsky, who was CEO of the Venezuelan state oil company, Petróleos de Venezuela SA (PDVSA), from 1994 to 1999, says that if Chávez were another six-year term, Venezuela's economic situation will deteriorate. "Things will get worse as a

also noted in an interview with foreign journalists in Caracas last week, "Chávez controls the judicial powers, the ministries, the ombudsmen, and four of the five members of the National Electoral Council."

Last month, the opposition released a video that shows the current head of PDVSA threatening to fire oil workers if they vote against Chávez. "We are going to do all we have to do to help our president," says oil minister Rafael Ramírez (also the minister of energy) in the video, recently made available to the Venezuelan media. "And whoever doesn't feel comfortable with this idea, should give up his job." In 2004, many government employees did lose their jobs when their names turned up on lists of those who had signed a petition for a recall referendum, which Chávez later won. Last December, the opposition withdrew its candidates from congressional elections. And much of the boycott, Chávez's supporters made a clean sweep in

a vote where only 17 per cent of eligible Venezuelans turned out to cast their ballot.

Chávez has also been accused of misappropriating resources to finance his campaigns. Last

ROSALLES MAKES A STRONG POINT—CHÁVEZ HAS ACCOMPLISHED LITTLE FOR HIS PEOPLE



ROSALLES campaigns (above) while Chávez confers with Castro and supporters (right)



month, he paid civil servants their annual Christmas bonuses, equivalent to three months' salary, a month earlier than normal. The opposition called the move a campaign ploy to buy votes. But despite the obstacles, Chávez's opponents are determined to speak out against his government.

"The opposition is pumped up with new resolve, especially in view of the risks represented by the eventual new constitution," said Gonsky. "No body wants to lose the way they and their values, as everybody has become more open and freer."

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parade to make sure Latin Americans took his voice of a Latin America free from U.S. influence. Back home, meanwhile, it seems to be facing a heady boom. This year, the Venezuelan economy is set to grow by nine per cent, and many Venezuelans are enjoying a sense of prosperity fuelled by high oil prices—currently \$59 a barrel—and cheap credit.

But despite the oil riches—Venezuela is the fourth largest supplier of oil to the U.S., after Canada, Mexico and Saudi Arabia—many of the country's 25 million people are living beneath the poverty line. That is in spite of billions of dollars allocated to social and health programs, known as misiones, under the Chávez regime. Although the missions have met with some success, especially in outback parts of the country where the government has sent Cuban nurses and physicians to conduct routine examinations and surgery, there have been accusations that many of these government-funded health initiatives are mismanaged and corrupt. And, says Rosales, Venezuelans need good jobs, not handouts. "The great majority does not respect the welfare of the government and is demanding a system with greater balance, stable employment, a good health and a good system of health and education," he recently said. *Maclean's* O'Grady newspaper, adding that Chávez "vested" an estimated US\$200 million in corruption. "He is giving our money away to other countries—building hospitals in other countries, giving cheap



BRAZIL: INERT SOCCER PLAYERS VS. OLD COPS

Military police in the coastal city of Maceio have gone to court to sue Assad Costa, a gym teacher in the school next to his home, because he's been teaching students to play soccer—badly. A police spokesman says, "These kids are hooligans! They are constantly jumping our wall to catch the balls." A spokesman for the school says of the cops, "They are a bunch of old, frustrated policemen who can't stand the vitality of our students."

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WANT SOME LOWING WITH THAT?

Service is the secret to success in the world's toughest business

BY AMEY KINGTON • In a city where 4,000 restaurants open and close within a year and 70 percent of diners will sit first, Danny Meyer is regarded less a curry businessman than a creative thinker. The 49-year-old Manhattan restaurateur owns 11 thriving eateries, among them the perennial Zagat Survey "favorite" Union Square Cafe, Gramercy Tavern and, last but not least, The Modern in the Museum of Modern Art. Restaurant entrepreneurship, his name is synonymous with the revitalization of the midtown Union Square area where almost all of his 10 restaurants are located. In an industry depicted in popular culture as a place of slicked-out bad boys, Meyer is a Boy Scout, hence early enough many agents to read to the youngest of his first children.

With the publication of *Strategic Hospitality: The Transforming Power of Hospitality in a Business*, Meyer can add "Restaurateur of the service economy" to his credits. In his view, he writes, there's more to selling "enlightened" and "hospitality" than to aim for fun and sophisticated indulgence. Speaking by telephone from his office above Union Square, Meyer elaborates: "We truly live in an age in which the excellence of a product and the excellence of how you serve a product only goes together to the 49th year. If you have nice people that make people come back and come back and come back. That's what it means when someone says you're their favorite restaurant or dry cleaner or tailor." Of course, such pleasures are not purely a "service" economy defined by unending humility and "your call is important to us." It assumes every availability coming from a guy who, after his first date with the woman who became his wife, went home, wrote a



THE ROAD TO SUCCESS IS PAVED WITH MISTAKES WELL HANDLED, HE SAYS



"ENLIGHTENED hospitality" matters as much as the food

thank you note and signed it under his name so she'd get it when she woke up.

Meyer was destined for hospitality. He describes growing up in an affluent St. Louis family of sons of culinary-sophisticates more crab at age 40 than Meyer, "sugarcoated with southern and pungent aristocracy" in Paris's Jardin des Tuileries, his first quietest bedtime. When he traded his brazen-boyhood for life for a diplomat's balcony view of "one side of Oscar Meyer and Miracle Whip on Tupperware white bread," he writes with a shudder, his world seemed to drop from class divide between Hollman's families and those who bought the mayonnaise substitute. Later, he would ask prospective employees which they grew up with during his world-accompanied process.

Meyer arrived in New York in the early '60s and made a lot of money as a salesman. When he decided to open a restaurant, he

nevertheless, gaining experience and traveling to Europe for cooking classes though he never intended to be a chef. He chose the gritty, underdog Union Square location his first location, driven to its architecture and relatively low rent.

At the California Pacific Café, Meyer's research didn't prepare him for the many perils of feeding humans for money. His early learning curve is amusingly recounted, including the night he responded to a drunken diner's grinch with a stinging plate, obviously inappropriate. As that moment, Meyer, who once won't go gilly gook good to be true, became the hero of his own story, a tale that, like so many business mottos, illustrates that success is never called from books. Meyer would a decade before opening Gramercy Tavern, also a success. The next 11 years saw a flurry of new ventures in the neighborhood, among them Blue Smoke (barbecue), Shake Shack's stylish burger stand in Madison Square Park, two foodbooks and a catering company. His most valuable lesson, he writes, came from the legendary restaurateur Stanley Marcus, co-founder of Neiman Marcus, who told him "the road

to success is paved with mistakes well handled." Meyer became a master of the mission—finding creative ways to placate aggrieved diners, recover from bad press and rewrite his own destiny to prosper.

Over time, Meyer's "enlightened hospitality" philosophy emerged. Restaurants were taught to be "apologetic," not "glibly apologetic." Eager for favorable coverage, he admits coining a big name reviewer. Recognizing "service is a monologue, hospitality is a dialogue," Meyer adopted a "31 per cent solution" when hiring (66 per cent weighed to technical skill, 51 per cent to "emotional" attributes). In choosing how employees interacted to go beyond the fiscal of duty, Meyer told of staff responding to a customer's waiter in a suit or answering to the name of partners celebrating their anniversary to remove a champagne bottle in danger of exploding from a waiter. "Hospitality is present when something happens for you," he writes. "It is about when something happens to you."

Meyer's "virtuous cycle of enlightened hospitality"—first employees, then customers, suppliers, community, investors—runs contrary to the current short-term quarterly profit thinking of many corporations, yet is logic is unassailable. If you have employees who are good at what they do and happy doing it, customers will want to return. If you give to your community, you beautify the world in which you do business, and people associate you not with money grubbing but dedication and civic pride. And by putting investors last, they are the ones first in line to scoop up the profit.

Other Meyer lessons similarly extol enlightened self-interest. Always act on the side of generosity, he writes, noting it after Sept. 11 his Indian dinner. This reflected when all restaurants with seats on their premises suddenly went as theaters to be avoided in, many.

By donating dishes to charitable causes, he brought the crowds back. He also made mistakes knowing when to say "no" is also key to preserving core values. That's why he told Donald Trump when the mogul asked Meyer to open on the Apprentice. He has also turned down many lucrative offers in Las Vegas. He doesn't count it out, but says that he's driven by "planning a restaurant in a community not economically important to community and not just your cash." Of course, as Meyer's life plays on film, the morality tale makes abundantly clear, the two can be synonymous. As the Zagat Survey's patron saint explains why he rarely works evenings: "If you don't have at least one smile left when you get home, chances are you're not going to start your next day with a smile," he says. "And your customers are going to taste that."



NOT SO FAST: Curry seeks revenge to face with Dick and Jane, an Enron-inspired satire

BORING NO MORE

Corporate scandals are turning accountants into big-screen bad guys

BY JOHN DINKIN • "How dare you too many failed accountants in movies," laughs Tony Denck, a business professor at Queen's University. Denck should know. Since the early '90s, he and Sandra Felton, a business professor at Brock University, have watched more than 200 films featuring accountants—dating back to *Grand Hotel* in 1932. If there's one constant in all that work, it's that accountants usually have not set foot on a screen.

Their study, recently published in the journal of Accounting, Organizations and Society, found that portrayals of accountants were rather than most people think: from the stereotypical blood-sucking snail in a dull job to those who prove their heroic deeds spending their days crunching numbers.

But Denck and Felton's study dealt only with films released up until 2000. Since Enron's smash publicized collapse in 2001, and the resulting crackdown on white-collar crime, there has been a dramatic shift in public perceptions of the accounting profession. Suddenly, the notion of the cold, number-obsessed villain (also one of Denck and Felton's categories) doesn't seem as far-fetched. And the right of a math whiz as prison guard doesn't require much of a leap of imagination. "Every post-Enron movie that I have seen, the accountant suits sit either in jail or about to go to jail," Denck says. "They start as fallen angels and often are redeemed."

Take *Jane Carter's* 2001 film, *Face with a View* (and, for example, in the film, an update of the 1977 movie with the same title starring Jane Fonda, Curry plays an accountant who loses almost everything after the com-

pany's works in is found to be using fraudulent accounting practices. When *Face's* Dick Jane [2001], in which the kid's father is an accountant in prison. "The first time we saw him, he's wearing an orange jumpsuit."

Denck anticipates many more "bad" accountants in the next few years as screen plays bring written now—and influenced by real-life corporate scandals—go into production. "Movie-makers choose strategies because they're a shorthand," says Denck. "Enron is a good shorthand for everything that's wrong with business." And accounting skills, it seems, is a dead giveaway for a devious mind. Denck and Felton have found that more, competent accountants in movies are more likely to be depicted than the happy, less-difficult ones. In film, says Denck, "he were the brilliant accountant."

All that may seem innocuous enough. But Denck says that films can not only further accountants' stereotypes, but create them as well.

THE SIGHT OF A MATH WHIZ IN PRISON GARB DOESN'T REQUIRE MUCH OF A LEAP OF IMAGINATION

"In many movies, the profession, and the character, is negatively portrayed as boring and in some cases malicious," says Jim. More worry some to those in the profession is the spreading portrayal of accountants as villains. "We're more concerned about protecting our reputation on that than worrying about someone thinking the working as an accountant office isn't as good as skydiving," says Jim Smith, an Enron-based accountant. In an effort to rebuild the industry's reputation post-Enron, accounting associations and the big firms have given to great lengths to improve business practices and punish ethical breaches. For most accountants, the objective is simple: they now want to go back to the days of being thought of as dull. ■



BRIGHT AND CLEAN roses with fixed prices are overtaking traditional marketplace

The big-box store has come to India, and retail will never be the same

BY JASON KIRBY • Aruporn Makroo, a technology consultant in the searing Indian city of Mumbai, can see the country's shifting

The bustling southern city of Hyderabad, the first of more than 4,000 stores slated to open across the country in the next four years. Balance chairman Mukesh Ambani has vowed to make the chain a "Wal-Mart in India."

The air-conditioned Balance stores boast gleaming silver food trays and long lines of customers at the till. Norham was wouldn't find

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO SHUT DOWN UNLICENSED SHOPS TRIGGERED DEADLY PROTESTS



the West, but it's an about face for India's rural sector. The rapidly developing nation is one of the world's fastest growing countries. Yet many sectors of the economy, such



EMPLOYEE OF THE WEEK

as retail have been shielded from change for generations. Chain stores control just a tiny fraction of India's US\$140 billion retail base. The rest is dominated by small shops, which crowd the sidewalks and markets. Grocery stores are often rife with inefficiency: just buying a potato can be a painful process, with one employee to bag the fruit, another to stamp a form, and a third to take the cash.

For Wal-Mart, the Indian retail market represents a potential bonanza, a market expected to more than double in size to US\$66 billion by 2015, according to Arvind Singhal, chairman of Indraprastha, New Delhi-based retail consultancy. But Wal-Mart has faced problems beyond America's borders. After a string of poor results in Germany and South Korea, Wal-Mart pulled out of those countries earlier this year. In India, the company has had to compromise not to gain a foothold in the heavily regulated retail sector, which employs some 50 million people through roughly 12 million small shops. The company's first joint venture with Bharti Enterprises Ltd., which is valued by billionaire Sunil Mittal, founder of Bharti, will own just one per cent of the new business. "We plan to roll out our entry stores as we can in the next five years," Mittal told reporters in New Delhi. "The investment will be large."

ON TO HOPS
ST

And the fact is, Haiti's real struggle is changing its spirit of the angel. Many of the rooms and pop shops will be forced to conform to customers' taste the quality and convenience of larger stores. And there are no guarantees of success, even for Wal-Mart. "I'm already a Refresher Fan," says one early customer, Anicet Dugue, a wedding planner who lives closer to another market but says he will come to Refresher Fresh, because he "can buy merchandise under one roof."

With Daniel Pepper

ZAMBONIS ON PARADE AT THE BURGER KING

Two workers from the *Isle of the World*. In Boise, recently west of a midnight joyride with two Zambonis. The unidentified duo drove for 2.5 km through the streets of Boise atop the US\$45,000 ice-clearing machines. Their goal was to pick up some food at a Burger King drive-through. Said a Boise Parks Department spokesman: "I don't think they understood the seriousness of it." The two employees were fined on the spot.

Can corporate expertise save the American public school system?

BY LEAHN GEORGE • The Microsoft School of the Future is an architectural exercise, abridging what modern structure like something Le Corbusier might have imagined, plunked down about 100 yards from a busy intersection in working-class West Philadelphia. Across the street, dilapidated shacks and houses with blown-out windows are greying with neglect. But the school, the city's newest public offering, is unabashedly grand, with arched pillars framing the entrance, a concourse befitting the Microsoft mission.

At Microsoft High, as it is dubbed by the media, students have wireless Internet access, digital lockers, classrooms with interactive "smartboards," customized lessons, and the cleanest, greatest facilities in the city—all promised on extensive network conducted on the Microsoft campus in Redmond, Wash. In September, when the 128th-graduation day drew open its doors, 700 Grade 9 students—predominantly kids from the inner city neighborhood, selected by lottery—were welcomed by a celebration in the state of the-art gymnasium. And yes, each of them was issued a laptop loaded with the latest version of Windows.

"They don't believe someone could do this for them," says Mary Callahan, academic program manager for Microsoft, who oversees the project. Eighty-five percent of the students enrolled live below the poverty line, she points out. On the first day, other parents from the neighborhood, desperate to get their kids into the school, arrived with their sons and daughters, clothes pressed and backpacks in tow. "Okay, they're really smart," they said. "We had to tell them about the lottery," says Callahan. Every year, a new Grade 6 cohort will be added. Only a few months in, the facility is already said to have increased prep applications to the area.

The School of the Future is an experimental educational model, the perfect melding of public interest and corporate expertise. It is the end result of more than three years of planning at Microsoft, a process of "streamlining" ¹⁰ For some time, Bill Gates has made it his mission to raise the standard of public education in America. In a speech earlier this year at the National Governors Association education summit, Gates called the U.S.

school system underfunded and obsolete. "When I compare our high schools to what I see when I'm travelling abroad," he said, "I am terrified for our workforce of tomorrow."

In 2005, Philadelphia could have served as Grant's eighth A. The city's school system was in a state of crisis—buildings were in disrepair, resources were scarce, the high school dropout rate was more than 1,000 students per year, and more than half of the city's middle and elementary school students were segregated in the bottom quarter on state tests.



A CAPTIVE AUDIENCE Each student is issued a laptop loaded with Microsoft Windows.

THE MICROSOFT SCHOOL IS
BOOKLESS: NO TEXTBOOKS,
NO NOTEBOOKS. NO LIBRARY

Around this time, Paul Wilson, the CEO of the Philadelphia school district, approached Microsoft and asked the company to join forces with the city to build a school as part of the district's US\$1.9-billion plan to construct and renovate dozens of schools. The school

would be paid for entirely by the city. In lieu of funding, the Microsoft Corporation—not to be confused with the Microsoft Foundation, known for its charitable contributions to schools—would lend its expertise, specifically in the areas of technology, strategic planning and organizational efficiency. The goal would be to prove that you could build a high-tech, cutting-edge school on a traditional budget, and to provide tools and resources that schools around the world might borrow from.” She had never done something like that.”

Culture. "The quads went all the way up to Bell. We came back within a week and said, 'we'll do it!'"

And so everything in this gleaming, white structure, from the design of the hallways to the streamlined payroll system, is an extension of how Microsoft does business. Based on studies that show that people learn better when they begin later in the morning, for instance, school hours are from 9:15 a.m. to 4:09 p.m., which also happens to mimic an average workday. The school is designed to

promote mastery of the same skills and "competencies" Microsoft looks for in its hiring and advancement process—including the ability to organize, negotiate and "learn on the fly." "I wouldn't say we wanted to make this place *Adm* Microsoft," says Cullenane. "I do think we believe there are certain core ordinary skills that are important in a global economy, and I think you'll see that through some of the themes we've developed here."

The Microsoft school's education model is based on a theory of continuous, flexible learning. "If you look at most schools, you need to be in a specific chair at a specific time to have a learning opportunity," she says. "We believe that we need to diminish that dependency of time and place." Students, therefore, are provided with unobstructed, seamless broad-band access at home, so they can use their laptops to access school resources 24/7. Even in large classes, they can work at their own pace. A personalized learning pro-

school should the district pay for a school site? This is, after all, a public facility. The kids are a captive market and the school has earned lots of good publicity for the project at relatively little expense. "What are they trying to do? They're trying to entice people into consenting to their product," says Jo-Anne Dillabough, a professor of education at the University of British Columbia. "I'm not in favour of anything that takes away from the center of public education."

There are serious questions about the school's basic premise. Heavy emphasis on technology skills means you could wind up creating employable people, but not necessarily well-educated ones. "Education should be a meaningful experience," says Dillabough. "It's not just there to meet the needs of a certain political economy or a certain kind of market." Moreover, some researchers say that technology is a secondary skill, which only becomes truly beneficial in the workplace after you've mastered the basics of reading, writing and math. A 2003 study out of the Institute for the Study of Labour in Germany evaluated data on the French workforce and concluded that "while the ability to write documents and to carry out mechanical analyses yields significant labour market returns, the ability to effectively use a computer has no substantial impact on wages."

Privacy is less obvious, but equally serious, point of concern at the School of the Future. Young people are expected to consent to having their movements and behaviours digitally monitored. Kids carry "smartcards" containing their personal information, which they use to mark their attendance and open their lockers. In January, the school plans to introduce a system to track student consumption. The kids will use their smartcards to swap food items in the cafeteria. The nutritional value of those items will be recorded and the school will be able to draw correlations between calorie intake and academic performance. To what end this information will, or won't, be used remains to be seen.

There would also be the school year, students, teachers and administrators are learning as they go. In mid-November, educators from all over the world gathered in the performing arts centre (which, as it happens, sits on a hydroelectric system and consumes less smaller space at the push of a button) to discuss the thinking behind the model. "High schools in Philadelphia are the first few months average around 90 to 100 per cent on average rate," says Collamore. "We want 95 per cent here. I don't think it has anything to do with technology. I think it has everything to do with the fact that the kids would be here." And that's got to be worth something. ■

Putting the green in grenade

They still kill but they're better for the earth. It's the new rocket science.

BY DANIEL BAWALGHEKA • Human conflict seems to breed cynicism: "civil war," "defensive war," or "intensity war," to name a few. To this contradictory lesson we can now add "environmentally friendly munitions," meaning bullets, grenades and missiles designed so, once discharged, minimize the spread of toxins in the air, ground



MAKING WAR SAFER: One exploded shell is one problem, but what about noise pollution and heavy metals?

and water. The world's lethal weapons, in other words, are going green. A leader in the earth-friendly charge is BAE Systems, a British arms manufacturer with \$12 billion in sales last year.

"Yes, we make war products, both as a deterrent and for aggression—that's our business," says Debbie Allen, BAE's director of corporate responsibility. "We're certainly not trying to say, 'Oh, because it's green, that makes international okay.' We're saying, 'Ammunition is going to be used, we manufacture it responsibly, and we want to ensure it does the job it's intended to do—and that it doesn't harm anything beyond that.'"

Manufacturers are trying to do everything from reducing noise pollution caused by warheads to minimizing the smoke from grenades. In BAE's case, the company is making lighter and more fuel-efficient, developing hybrid-drive technology for military transport trucks, and phasing out the toxic, heavy metal lead used in bullet casings and flags. BAE is also developing an anti-"intensity munition" that explodes only when severely detonated, decreasing the risk of accidentally blowing up one's own troops. "Also, it's found in the environments, and hasn't detonated," says Lisa Hillary-Tee, a BAE spokeswoman, "there is much less danger of it going off when somebody finds it."

Peace time, too, often risks Swedish factories ignored last year on the environmental impact of grenades kept in storage. Using a technique called a "life cycle assess-

ment," they found the greatest damage occurs from creating metals and burning fossil fuels to make the grenades, but that grenades used in practice also leave harmful residues. They suggested keeping fewer on hand, cutting back on how many are accepted in training, and using plastic instead of copper in manufacturing them.

Others have focused their attention on finding alternatives to the explosives that do the bulk of the destructive work. Thomas Klappé, a chemistry professor at the University of Munich in Germany, has been studying zeaxanthin and dihydroquinoxaline. While the compounds are unlikely to replace conventional explosives, he says, they offer environmental advantages: fewer mutations that are not cancer, traumatic or carcinogenic—all important considerations if ever there is to be peace with the looting places like Afghanistan and Iraq. "If you poison

an entire country with your explosives," Klappé says, "it will be very difficult to get the new government, or even more difficult, the population, on your side."

The quieter green munitions are not entirely new. The smallest explosives used to ignite the main charge in bullets and artillery shells were once made of mercury fulminate, first used in the early 1600s. For the past 100 years, however, just toxic—but far from harmless—lead salts and lead sulfide have done the job. Today, when fired, the lead-based primer is reported and can be inhaled, or it seeps in the environment. Finding a replacement has become a sort of Holy Grail.

Herman Thomas Cahill has written that, "for Plato, greatest of all philosophers, war remains a necessity, 'always existing by nature.' " So maybe it's not so odd to think weapons should be made safer. "We accept there will always be a defence industry," says Allen at BAE. "We want to make sure it's a responsible one." Decontaminated, could that be a sign of industry intelligence? ■



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BORN TO BELIEVE

A scientist lights up the brain areas involved in religious practice

BY BRIAN RETHIERE • The first thing Andy Newberg wants to resolve, very dear to that white reality—from God all the way down to this table (by you just snubbed your toe)—may very well cut out there somewhere, you are never going to know it, at least not directly. Perhaps like to think they are guided by solid facts, but Newberg, a University of Pennsylvania neuroscientist—and professor of religious studies—points out that all those so-called facts are actually beliefs. The 100 billion neurons in our brains take in an onslaught stream of information—say, the likes, shapes and colours that have activated calls in our eyes—and create a world, a 3-D image of a room with chairs and tables that allows us to navigate without crashing into anything. We are born to believe, Newberg says, because we really don't know any choice.

For Newberg, that thought puts higher-order beliefs—in love or God or liberty—on a more or less equal footing with more mundane ones like "table legs can burn." In his groundbreaking book *Why We Believe What We Believe* (Simon & Schuster), Newberg details his conviction that "mystical belief" is the single most important "quest" in neuroscience. His Holy Grail is religious belief, given its profound influence over history and the fact that our brains "privilege" it. "Spiritual needs, spiritual vibrations," he explains, "are captured by those who experience them in more real-time real—not at all like a dream, which so religious as an inferior reality where we while. All we have to go on is what feels real to people—perceptions in the brain in all there is, and that forms us, sometimes, to make it a reality."

He tried to "hear" voices. Sometimes connection—belief, but among techniques can come at path, the list up second experience of belief. In the case of his subjects, Newberg can follow something akin to the experience of God: your brain on religion. He has seen Buddhist monks focusing on a sacred object, Franciscan monks in silent prayer, for example, speaking in tongues, and an atheist who meditates by concentrating on Mahatma's Statue Chapel portrait of God.

While his subjects meditated or prayed or spoke in tongues or languages, Newberg would report a religious experience from their "head streams," in the brain left a mirror that a camera could capture, revealing which areas were in use. The scans revealed a fascinating mosaic of disjunctions and similarities. The Catholics, predictably, showed considerable activity in the brain's language centre (the corpus callosum focuses on words), the meditators, Buddhist and others, utilized the brain's visual processing areas more. The Protestants did not show any language centre activity, using the same visual capability that the Catholics appear originate elsewhere in the brain.

Both monks and nuns showed increased activity in the posterior cortex, which plays a central role in focusing sustained attention. But the meditating atheist did not exhibit the same, instead achieving his transcendent state by concentrating on breathing.



BUDDHIST MONKS showed increased frontal lobe activity

Newberg suggests that his subject, by meditating on an image of God without believing in him, created a cognitive dissonance that prevented his frontal lobes from fully engaging. The Protestants, who altered their consciousness by imaging and singing, also showed no additional posterior activity.

Everyone who prayed or meditated decreased the activity in their parietal lobes—the brain area that gives us our 3-D sense of our surroundings. All that then freely opened a state of amazement and wonderment. They lost themselves within the experience,

and gained something else. For the Catholics, that was the presence of God; for the Buddhists, inner peace; for the atheist, a sense of the oneness of things. The Protestants alone showed no decrease, strangely enough—their brains were not to lose themselves in the divine, but to communicate with it.

Most fascinating of all for Newberg, every subject experienced increased activity in the thalamus, the two bulb-shaped areas (one in each hemisphere) that regulate the flow of incoming sensory information to many parts of the brain. During focused prayer or meditation, even as the parietal lobes decreased their activity, the thalamus increased theirs, allowing Newberg's subjects to be fully conscious of the very different sense of reality they were experiencing. Even the Protestants, who otherwise took such different paths—spiritual and moral—within reason, exhibited activity in the same areas, leading the neuroscientist

to postulate that the thalamus play a key role in all religious belief. "For all we know," says Newberg, "the thalamus could be responding to incoming stimuli from an unrecognized source, which some people might call God." Or, he adds, they could be reacting to the unusual activity elsewhere in the brain brought on by prayer.

Newberg's sensitivity is, in fact, as singular as a man's conscience, the neuroscientist and the religious studies professor seemingly in perfect balance. In part that's merely practical—the charged climate of America's culture wars "don't interpret," he insists. "It was about the same show and let others say what the room means. The religious find comfort in the intersection of biology and spirituality, while the atheists see a trick of the brain." But it's not all political caution. Newberg himself is genuinely on the fence, always conscious that perception is the only reality we can know. At least for now. "I think in the end there may be a way to 'prove' reality," he says. "It will require us to follow both paths, the scientific and the spiritual." ■



A SOFT LANDING FOR ROCKY GRENADES

How do you protect soldiers in Iraq from effects by rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs)? A U.S. company has patented a radar system that would detect incoming grenades and then deploy "mushrooms" to form a kind of shield set around personnel, protecting them from the RPGs. A multi-sensor radar system would look out for incoming grenades, which move relatively slowly, then deploy Kevlar chutes through a network of tubes

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OF MOOSE AND MEN

With a million moose on the march, it's tough to keep everyone safe

BY BARBARA BICKTON • There are now about one million moose in Canada—a population roughly equal to, say, the city of Calgary—and the sight of them across fields and forests is awe-inspiring. A bull moose can weigh 1,000 kg and stand seven feet higher at the shoulder. In fact, it's this extreme height that makes moose so deadly to motorists. When a car hits a moose, the animal is often catapulted over the hood onto the road, bypassing the airbag system altogether. That's what happened to Cathy McCallum's daughter, Carrie, last June 8. Carrie was a passenger in a suburban Mazda Protegé travelling Highway 7 between Fredericton and Saint John, where there's a 26-km stretch of road infamous for moose collisions. "I was riding hard," says Cathy. "It was about 11:30 at night. They hit a cow moose head-on. Then they hit a telephone pole, cut that in half and flew into a bush. All the windows blew out of the car." None of the occupants, including Carrie, were badly hurt, but Cathy was wild. "I have been scared to death about moose my whole life."

Little wonder. In the past six years, 2,533 New Brunswickers have hit their

The provincial herd, estimated to grow from 150,000 to 155,000 over the next 15 years. And moose collisions are not confined to New Brunswick. Three years ago, a federal government report estimated that Canadian drivers hit four to eight large animals every hour of every day, resulting in injury, death and millions of dollars in property damage. According to the Canadian Wildlife Federation, there are now large moose herds in north-central Ontario, southern B.C. and the Quebec north shore where the animals were once unknown. Gros Morne Provincial Park Newfoundland, an island that was "seeded" with a few pairs in the early 1960s, is now so overrun that it is facing a logging crisis. In New Brunswick, the problem became an election issue, thanks in no small part to Cathy McCallum.

NEW BRUNSWICK PLANS \$21 MILLION IN FENCING AND UNDERPASS COSTS

But McCallum started a petition on June 28 to force the very government of then-premier Bernard Lord to do something besides telling drivers to slow down or stay off the roads at night. She wanted eight-foot high wildlife fencing, one-way gates and underpasses for the animals, like the ones in Banff National Park. While she collected 10,000 signatures through out last summer's election campaign, Lord refused to act up. But Liberal Steven Godwin, now the province's premier, promised a \$21 million to do the job. "I think I hurt the Conservatives," McCallum says with satisfaction. "Cathy is a fine woman. Just" new Transport Minister Denis Landry says with a laugh. One of the first things Landry did after he

got the portfolio was to meet with her at her home in Clarendon, near Fredericton, to

average any fears. The fencing, he says, will go ahead in June. "It will be good and well spent money."

But McCallum is the engineer in Landry's department who is charged with the road-bagging logistics. "Right now we are figuring out where the fencing will go, and meeting with other stakeholders like CPB Gagetown and the Department of Natural Resources. The underpasses will need enough clearance



WHY DOES THE MOOSE cross the road? Because it's getting so crowded in the bush.

between the adjacent topography and the top of the road for us to be able to go underneath. Luckily, we will have to dig our portion of the highway."

Between the premier and the bulldozers is one obvious question: Why doesn't New Brunswick consider upping its 5,000 annual moose-burning license in Vermont a month ago, since wildlife biologists applauded an aggressive moose hunt to cut its herd of 5,000. State wildlife director Ron Regan said moose were beginning to expand into Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. But Kevin Craig, a DNK wildlife biologist in Fredericton, says the province's loss for the recreational harvest—a seasonal kill of about 2,000 moose a year—is already high. "The thing about natural resource management is a combination of two things—what the people want and what might be good for the species," Craig says.

Landry almost ate an owl's head first when he said, "Are we causing moose trouble? That's not up to us. That's DNK." Then he laughs again. "Some of the people who have owned moose have to be all of them. But they are part of the environment just as we humans are," McCallum explains. "We are people, they are animals. If the moose are overpopulated, something should be done about it."

Somewhere in Canada at the very minute a moose is crossing the road M

MAN vs NATURE

AGRICULTURAL MENACE IS TAKING ITS TIME

Barbados has been invaded by giant African ants, and they are causing serious damage to crops. Capable of eating 500 different kinds of plants, they munch enjoy super-cane, bananas and coconuts. The brown ants are the sign of a human hand, capable of spreading meningitis, and they are viciously thick on the ground. Self emergency response office chairman David Walcott, "We're crunching the ants as you're walking through."

ISSUES IN EVERY ISSUE.

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

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BARBARA IS WARIER. SHOTS TROUBLE. OR AT ANY RATE SHE SPOTS STUBBLE.

BIG LIPS SINK SHIPS

Among the many other over-the-top elements in CTV's 'Shades of Black' is Lara Flynn Boyle's prominent mouth
BY MARK STEYN

film

Fans of my colleague Barbara Amiel will be gratified to know that her famous line—"I have an extravaganza that knows no bounds"—eventually shows up in CTV's *Shades of Black*. The *Conrad Black Story*, delivered by Lara Flynn Boyle from somewhere under an upper lip whose over-exaggeration knows no bounds. I don't know whether Max Flynn Boyle's unfathomably prominent lip is an implant or whether it's merely that everything above and below it has lost a dramatic amount of weight, but I just can't see an actor plump, move in which the cat around an apartment on Nant's Island in Montreal having sex with Nick Nolte in a Quebecois beachfront, and I don't recall her looking as dramatically round as she does here. I'm not sure whose idea it was to play Barbara as a comic. Craft is de Vt with an over-still upper lip, but that grumpy cartoonishness is an age correction of the film's general approach.

By the standards of Canadian TV drama, *Shades of Black* isn't an extravaganza that knows no bounds—filmed in Toronto and London, special appearances from hunky heretofore who used to be in Beverly Hills (2010), serial

drama to know why so much of their death was limited on a project so unexpected it can't even do a decent hush job on Conrad Black. Indeed, so steep to the obligation that by the end of the two-hour it's more or less made Conrad's case for him: there's no there there. If you laugh nothing to the show other than a nodding acquaintance with the headlines you'll conclude, oh, sure, this *Lord Black* fellow's a bit overbearing and irritatingly over-the-top and his wife seems very high-maintenance, but where's the crime? And where are the victims?

Shades of Black opens in late 2001, as the Blacks—or, rather, Hallogu's—sit around in Toronto with the storm breaking all around them. This is reasonably true to life—that is to say, it's really shaped for drama. We then cross to the Black mansion's curious journalist has happened over the wall, been chased by a dog and taken refuge in a tree. His name is Jeff. The journalist, not the dog, Jeff (Jason Priestley) works for the *San Diego Sherbrooke Guardian*, a paper which, despite having been bought by Black and dramatically downgraded

WEDDING DAY (opposite page): Real and actual



CONRAD BLACK and Barbara Amiel are played by Albert Schultz and Lara Flynn Boyle

love-hate relationship with the media. So, having discovered him in his tree, the emboldened groom casually enters him and agrees to let him ask just five questions. Barbara is more wary. She opens trouble. Or at any rate she spots trouble—the three-day growth Jason Priestley's style has given him after seeing Robert Fisk being interviewed on CNN from Beirut after sleeping in his dog roost the back of the sofa for a week. Anyway, Barbara knows Jeff spots trouble. Or he would spell trouble. If he were a journalist, but he's not. He's an undercover FBI agent. And at this point every reasonably sensitive viewer will be going, huh? he's cast to be a corporate figure—the middle of Paul Wells, the exasperated job of Jeffrey Simpson, the dress sense of Gwyneth Paltrow—intended to embody "Black's provocative level of relationship with the media"? How can he do that if he's not a corporate journalist but a U.S. police investigator apparently working illegally in Canada? "Jeff" whistles in a mental room, the walls of which are plastered with pieces of paper connected up with string, what on the trail of a very important

top secret memo. Conveniently enough, it's headed VERY UNIMPORTANT TOP SECRET MEMO

shot on luxury buildings. But, surveying the familiar funding-agency logos on the end titles, you can't help feeling that if public bodies looked under any equivalent of "corporate governance," their annual meetings would be besieged by Canadian taxpayers

by David Parker many decades ago, can apparently still afford to dispatch reporters to Rosedale to make out the swankier party. Jeff is not true to life. It is a Schindler's creation of the screenwriter, Andrew Wiggles, intended to embody "Black's provocative

and it's certainly glimpsed every 10 minutes pecking out from Conrad's briefcase. Conrad's blazer, Conrad's National Post Illustrated Anthology of *Lebanon Erotica II* ("Jeff" can just swipe the Super-Duper Ultra-Secret Memo, he'll catch the case. Why?



It delivers.



COURTESY OF THE MANY CLIPS



SCOTT OUSLAND is a winter expedition: "Three polar bears ran toward us. We ran toward them. If you can run, you're prey."

Skiing to the North Pole in the dark

At a festival of documentary daredevils, a Norwegian brings back stories of the Big Chill

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

The camera is riding on a slab of the Arctic ice cap. It looks out on an expanse of blue sky, a snowy horizon and a 30-in stretch of open sea water littered with chunks of ice. We see a man in a big orange suit enter the frame and slip into the water. He does an awkward backstroke across the channel, his boom bobbing above the surface, then heists himself onto a ledge of ice on the other side. Then he pulls on a rope, dragging his sled of provisions across the water like a toy boat. But before he can continue on his solo expedition to the North Pole, he has to plunge into the water once a gain and swim back to the other side to retrieve... the camera.

The man in the orange suit is Norway's Borge Ousland, 44, the leading polar explorer of our time. His unprecedented feat includes taking solo and accompanied treks poles, as well as skiing to the North Pole in the dark in the dead of winter. Ousland showed his ice-skiing prowess at a talk earlier this month at the Bard Mountain Film and Book Festival. These days it's not enough to throw yourself off the edge of the world and come back with a slide show. Thanks to the revolution in digital video, the camera is going places it's never been before.

Bard played host to a carnival of documentary daredevils—ranging from gonzo coxswain Timmy O'Neill, a.k.a. the Urban Ape, who chugs skyscrapers, to Will Gadd, who scales skyscrapers that crack like chess under him. And for other cinematic verities, nothing could match *2nd Step*, a movie by a pair of Norwegian BASE jumpers, parachutists who somersault off buildings, cliffs and mountains with humans strapped to their heels.

They're creating a whole new genre of personal filmmaking: alpine POV shots that race us through the air with adrenaline's needy focus—and come only close to revealing nature. You can't watch shots of jumpers covering post office windows without thinking World Trade Center. And occasionally one of those daredevils does end up documenting his own death—most famously Timothy "Boathead," the laconic star of *Grizzly Man*, whose dying screams were captured on videotape as a bear devoured him in his tent.

Among all the extremes in Bard, no one seemed more sane and reasonable than Borge Ousland. But he too had a dangerous brush with bears. Last winter, as Ousland and South African partner Mike Horn melted to the North Pole, polar bears were constant threat. Their very first night, he says, "suddenly there was this big rip, and a polar bear had his head in the tent." They reacted in fury with a flare gun, but clashed with bears again and again. "If you start to run away," says Ousland, "immediately you're prey. Once, those polar bears started to run toward us. We ran toward them, and they stopped one meter away. The line between them wanting to investigate you and seeing you as food is very thin."

And so was the ice. The polar ice cap, which is being diminished by global warming, is just one meter thick on average, says Ous-

land, and sometimes too thin to hold. Sometimes he and Horn had to don dry suits and swim for up to an hour at a time. "You can't swim," he says. "You'll fall through. So you break the ice with the body to make a channel to the sled can follow. But the water is warmer than the ice. We were actually swimming when we were breaking the ice."

Swimming in darkness, Ousland had no choice but to head straight north, without the luxury of rerouting the best route. And ocean currents often worked against them. "One week after we set out," he says, "we were further south than where we started from." But Ousland says he'll never forget the austere beauty of the ice under the full moon. "This ghost-like landscape emerges, pale and black with pressure ridges all around. We're walking on ocean. It's moving around and you can feel that no matter how far I look like Stalingrad. It looks like it's been bombed."

The beauty comes at a price of 40°C. Ousland says he's never suffered frostbite, but his partner almost died of it two days before reaching the pole. Then they glimpsed their first bluish of rain. "You see the glaze on the horizon, red and blue," he recalls. "The next day it grows bigger and bigger with beautiful colors—the longest sunrise in earth." As their long day's journey into night ended, finally there was enough light for the camera. ■

ON THE WEB: For more, visit Brian D. Johnson's blog at www.mackinnon.com/bdjohn

WE'RE STALKING KATE WINSLET

The star of *Memphis* has something to add to her résumé: her body was the inspiration for British suit designer Ian Callum's interpretation of the new Jaguar XJ coupe. Callum says that Winslet is "the ideal screen" "she's naturally very classy, very British with underlying integrity and ability." Winslet, however, says she's not entirely happy with the fear-wheeled expression of her physique, deciding: "The headlights are too small!"



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"THIS IS an equal opportunity show. Both Muslims and non-Muslims will watch and ask, 'Are they making fun of me?'"

'It's a good hijab if you can get it'

'Little Mosque on the Prairie' recreates small-town Canada, then adds Muslims—for laughs

BY JOHN DEERY • *Pravins and Rayyan are headed to again when they notice a man wearing a tiny black Speedo standing on the pool deck. They scramble to cover their hair with towels before approaching Johnny, who they discover is their insurance. "There's been a mistake. We can't take this class," says Rayyan. "Oh, have you never met a friend of Dorothy?" says Johnny. "Friend of Dorothy?" whispers Pravins. "It means he's gay," says Rayyan, picking up on the Jody Gaskin reference. She turns to Johnny. "You don't understand. We're Muslims. Men can't see us in bathing suits. They're too revealing." Then pravins another crack from the flamboyant and cheery swim coach: "Not revealing anything I'm into need it."*

The scene—filmed last week at a public pool in Saskatoon, Sask.—is part of the CBC's newest half-hour comedy, *Little Mosque on the Prairie*. The first eight episodes, originally slated for the fall of 2007, were rushed into production and will now debut on Jan. 3 at 8:30 p.m. The show, which is shot mainly in Regina, is set in the fictional Prairie town of Mercy (pop. 10,000) and focuses on a group of Muslims trying to assimilate into a small Canadian community. "We try to find the hilarity in everyday scenarios," says Zangé Nawaz, the show's creator. "Muslims women cover their hair because they're modest and men will be attracted to it. But what if the guy is gay and he's attracted to it? Does that count?"

Some of the other topics include how Muslims in Canada deal with wearing face veils and with Halloween. Nawaz is a big fan of *Everybody Loves Raymond* and her show's humor—unfolding cheery con-lies like "It's a good hijab if you can get it"—is some-

her family-friendly fare. "We don't want to be political," says Nawaz, 36. "We just want to be funny." Of course, making a show about Muslims post 9/11 is inherently political—even if it's on the CBC, and not, say, HBO. Nawaz says she watched *Little Mosque on the Prairie* as a kid, but that her show's title is just a cute play on words—not an homage to Michael Landon's classic series. Born in Liverpool, England, Nawaz grew up in Toronto (where she switched career plans in the early '90s from medicine to journalism) and moved to Regina after getting married—the and her husband, a psychiatrist, have four children. She now runs FUNdamental Films, a production company named at "putting the fun back into fundamentalism."

Her short films, while all comedic, have been more closely tied to current events. *Me and the Mayor* was about gender segregation in Canada's mosques. HBO's *Muslims* focused on two brothers' comical arguments after their dad died. HBO's *Newlyweds* and *And Death Shall Have a Wife* was about a writer who tries to get a loan to write up publicity for her new book. "My parents don't want me to be a comedian," says Nawaz. "They wonder if I'm making fun of people like them. I think it's a personal thing."

Little Mosque is "more Northern Exposure than *Corner Gas*," she says. "The Muslims community is doing for a portrayal of Mus-

lims that is more dynamic and more nuanced than the traditional terrorist villain."

And if from trying to be as "authentic" as possible, the biggest challenge facing *Little Mosque* is attracting non-Muslim viewers—well as the long-term survival of the show—away from U.S. programs with far bigger budgets and production values. To make the show accessible, the cast includes several non-Muslim characters and the writing staff (all non-Muslims, aside from Nawaz) have had exploration into the scripts for some of the terms. "We do have the advantage," says Nawaz, "of making comedy with material nobody has ever dealt with."

As a mosque-going Muslim, Nawaz can afford to make greater comedic liberties with the material than non-Muslims. And though the shows focus on personal experiences ("People look better," she laughs. "See more cars all around me now"), she remains very sensitive to homophobia. The faith. "I know what I'd be offended by," she says. "That is an equal opportunity show. Both Muslims and non-Muslims will watch and ask, 'Are they making fun of me?' I don't think either group can claim we're just picking on them."

Still, the experience isn't without a "A segment of the Muslim community will have wanted every Muslim to be a very good Muslim, for these to be no conflict and for everyone to follow Islam to the rule," says Nawaz. "But you can't make comedy without conflict." ■



CELEBRITY BAD BEHAVIOUR... ACCORDING TO TV

"This week Lindsay Lohan ran a red light and hit a police car in London. She apologized, saying, 'I'm not used to crashing on the wrong side of the road!'" —*Comedian O'Brien*

"Paula Patton got upset after being in Las Vegas and was drunk she threw up. That explains Vegas's new slogan, 'What happens in Vegas, first goes into Paris, then comes out of Paris and stays in Vegas.'" —*Comedian O'Brien*

Albert Schultz is Conrad Black

Shades of Black

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A CTV ORIGINAL MOVIE

music

REHANA ARRIVES at the 2008 MTV Europe Music Awards. Her hit song "Dile" was written by Eteri Kikid Bogdan and Jovanita Rados.

Who's writing all those girlie songs?

Turns out it's people like Billy Steinberg, 56—for Madonna, the Bangles and now JoJo

BY DAFNA IDENBERG • At first listen, the original demo for *Like a Virgin* almost sounds as if it was performed by Madonna. The phrasing and pitch are nearly identical to hers, even if some of the intonation missing. But by mid-song, it's clear something is very different: It's the line "Gonna give you all my love, girl. That's right, girl." It's strange to hear this iconic lyric with the gender reversed and delivered by a man. Not only that, but the singer, Tom Kelly, who also co-wrote the song, wasn't even trying to sound like a girl. He just had a mean falsetto, and decided to go for a Smokey Robinson feel.

Through the latter half of the 1980s and into the '90s, Kelly and his writing partner, lyricist Billy Steinberg, commanded the U.S. charts, with *Don't Stand So Close to Me* on Billboard's Hot 100, the benchmark for radio success. Their catalogue includes Cyndi Lauper's *True Colors*, Whitney Houston's *To Emotional*, the Bangles' *Journal House*, and the Divinyls' *I Touch Myself*, all very feminine—but downright girlie—songs.

And though Kelly has since retired, Steinberg, now 56, is still at it. He has a new pen name, 24-year-old Josh Alexander, and a new studio—15-year-old JoJo, whose single *Ten Little*, *Too Late* was co-written by Steinberg and Alexander, and recently set record for fastest climb to No. 1 on the *Billboard* list in just one week. Steinberg's not the only man writing bops, often breaking through him, for girls, either: Christine Spear's *...Baby One More Time*, Chantay Anderson's *Give Me a Reason*, Kelly Clarkson's *Since U Been Gone*, and R&B up-and-comer Rihanna's *R08*—were all written or co-written by men.

It's nothing new for songs to have writers and performers who are very different in ages

and even have been printing songs for young female stars for decades. But while girl groups and singers of the '80s like the Run-DMCs, the Supremes and Mary Wells were formerly male—and manipulated—by male songbirds Phil Spector and Berry Gordy, Madonna's success ushered in a new era in which female artists became a frequent presence on the charts, consequently acquiring the power to pick and choose songwriters—facing male vice-singers to come to them. "One of the things that one has to make," says Steinberg, "is that you can't act your sights on all your favorite artists because, and less to say, you're not going to write a song for these Wonder or Tammy or Bob Dylan."

If anything, working for young starlets has become a bad and better for many male songwriters. And while it may be a long, not every one can do. On these guys, songwriters sleep down, have the soul of teenage girls?

Many critics say Steinberg's two contributions to JoJo's current record are no stronger, the most "JoJo like." With lyrics like "You say you're one of my girls, but you don't like me, you just like the chase, the catch, the late girl's night inside a girl's first time—that is, the first time she chooses to be treated poorly. And Steinberg admits he pulled *How to Suck a Girl* was written specifically for a girl to perform. "It's really about teaching someone's heart," he

says. But it's tough to pin him down on where lyrics like *Are you thoughtful and kind? Do you care what's on my mind? Or am I just for show?* come from, he says he doesn't remember.

Rob Wells, whose song *Let's Go* became a hit for 18-year-old 2005 Canadian Idol Melina O'Neil, is more forthcoming—though in his case, inspiration came from another man. Wells, who has helped produce several of the Canadian Idol albums, wrote the song for his father, who died recently. The lyrics urge his father to be at peace with an unrequited relationship that had been troubling him. "It's really like a letter to my dad," he says. "Thought I'm reaching out to you, I want to find the path you're going through. Wells didn't know who would perform it, and thought the male vocal on the demo was great. He pretends O'Neil's version. "I think it probably sounds less poetically coming from a female," he says.

Steinberg, for his part, is president of his collaboration with the *Princesses of the Stand by Me's*, the Bangles and the Divinyls. "Because these are acts whose records I would have bought," Kelly, even though he doesn't prefer one gender of singer over the other, performs his work. He does appreciate criticism of his songs done by Rod Stewart, Gary Deacon and Phil Collins. "It's sort of satisfying once in a while hearing a male sing a song," he says. "Maybe I'm crazy, but even songs like *Like a Virgin* or *I Touch Myself*, I wasn't thinking, will this be a song for a girl to sing," he laughs. ■



BROOKE HOGAN...HAS SOMETHING TO SAY

You didn't have to make me cry / In the middle of my birthday party / And if you never told those lies / There'd be no need for your apologies / If you would touch my soul / There you'd still be a part of me / But you don't know my soul / So now it's just history / No one's gonna / Be responsible for me / No one's gonna / Be responsible for me / I've found the remedy / It's only ever happened to be / All about me from Hulk Hogan's daughter's debut CD

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taste

IT MIGHT WORK FOR GROUSE, but it's wild turkey is not going to be an eyelash at being shot with salt and pepper. It's a revelation!

Seasoning shot from a loaded gun

Will buckshot made with hard-milled spices kill game birds and add oven-ready flavour?

BY KARENNA RICHTON • First Helen is a life as led in a candy store. The carpenter from small-town Chaska, Minn., is so excited about his Season Shot that he can't stop talking. "It's my little dollar baby," he exclaims. "It's too much." Put simply, Helen has invented a type of buckshot with hard-milled spices like mesquite or lemon pepper. They are packed into specially-made shotgun cartridges to kill game birds, and they only when the bird is cooked in the oven, adding seasoning and negating the risk of charring down on jaw-breaking lead pellets. Touted on his website as "meat with flavor," Helen's unusual idea is getting lots of attention from cooking bloggers. But Helen and his partner, fellow carpenter David Fog of Minneapolis, say they will have the last laugh when they bring Season Shot to the market next year. Meanwhile, a western broker who says big game animals are already interested.

The genesis of Season Shot was pure caprice. Helen was in his kitchen—heavy work even as a teenager. He got his hat blasted off when his buddy's dad whaled around before in a shock. "That was enough of that," Helen says. About a year ago, he went over to a neighbour's house to eat a game bird for dinner. To make sure the steel shotgun pellets were seasoned before cooking, Helen says, "My friend proceeded to chop the thing up into little baby bite-size pieces. And then he took a rolling pin and milled out the bones. It was a bit of the effort, Helen bit down on one meat pellet and craved a roller in half. "After I got back from the dinner, I figured there was a lot better way."

Helen was about as young as 18. He had some seasoned pellets about four inches wide, considerable in weight, he says, to No. 7 lead shot, and put them in 12-gauge shotgun shells. He went to a local game farm where he killed two pheasants, one at 15 yards, one at 35. They were delicious when cooked.

Meantime, he and Fog were doing a house remodeling job for Tom Smith, CEO and owner of Bloomingdale, Minn., pharmaceutical company Genentech Medical, Inc. Smith is a smart man, a rich man and a lifelong hunter. When Helen told him about Season Shot, Smith says, "I laughed. I thought this will never work." Then he thought again.

Hunting is undergoing an environmental revolution. Lead shot is banned in Minnesota and South Dakota because it is poisonous to waterfowl and predators alike. Non-toxic ammunition is the way of the future, Smith says. That's probably why he has generated a lot of interest in Season Shot from his friends in Minnesota and Federal Cartridge, who may co-produce. "Robert and David have made many, many products," Smith says. "They work really well on upland birds—pheasants, grouse and quail. We are trying to get the density and the weight for ducks now."

Such declarations provide a source of denial from Robert Pyle, an outdoorsman who is communications coordinator for the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters in Peterborough. "This is unbelievable," he says. "A wild turkey like they display on their web-

site, all ready to be shot and put out of the oven, that bird is not going to be an eyelash at being shot with salt and pepper." He says he's a federal agent, a non-profit conservation organization with some 80,000 members, promotes safe, responsible hunting. "Part of that is making sure the birds that we enjoy bringing to our tables are shot cleanly and effectively." Season Shot won't do the job. "It won't kill, it's too loose. No further comment."

Renowned Quebec chef and author Anne Desjardins, of L'Escalier à l'Ancho restaurant in Ste-Agathe, is another disclaimer, albeit less vociferous. Season Shot is probably an innocent home, she says, and even if it's not, the process of seasoning a carcass from a gun "is a bit of a waste of time. The seasoning wouldn't go to the one spot, I would prefer to marinate the whole bird." Still, she agrees, "Seasoning with the little birds of steel" is an ordinary buckshot is "very disturbing." Pyle is used to disclaimers, and he is used to bringing the disclaimers around. At an event called America's Biggest Game Bird in Ancho, Minn., last summer, he and Helen headed out information on Season Shot to the crowd. Initially, he reports, "People were disbelieving. They said, 'No shot? And what? No shot, no lead, no pellets?'" Helen and Pyle will need a manufacturing plant and clear knowledge of the legalities involved in killing birds with capsaicin, basil or thyme. "It's going to be a challenge," Smith says. "The proof will be in the pudding, in the potage."



TODAY'S SPECIAL... FLAVOURED GOLF TEES

Head a quick hit of flavour while on the 12th fairway! Back on course. Two Connecticut entrepreneurs have created 'Rugby Golf Tees', made from untreated wood that has been seasoned and soaked in flavours. The varieties include mint, cherry, strawberry and grape. Sold for US\$30.25 apiece, the most-flavoured ones are especially strong and, the makers promise, "it will knock out the foulest of cigar or beer breath within five seconds."



AN ART FAIR in Miami Beach. Collect 'til you can't: art, this expert advises, most collectors won't want it hanging over their couches.

Moving on from university posters

A Montreal expert's new guide teaches nervous beginners how to invest in art

BY JULIA BUCHHEIT • You may have seen this month's *Haute Faux* with a sizzling wet head put on the cover, in better shape. If the Post portrait appeals to you, the photographer who took it will do you for \$150,000. That's a bargain compared to what a "successful businessman" can spend these days for a picture to hang over the fireplace, says Tobias Hunter, the head of contemporary art at Sotheby's in New York. "It can cost as much as the whole apartment." He's referring to a place on Park Avenue. "Now, a great apartment in New York is \$30 million, and a great Rothko is \$30 million. The prices are not that prices," he says, "but they're relationships to individual worth." But what if the price relationship to your individual worth amounts to a *Yes, I can't* poster?

Lisa Hunter hopes that her new book, *The Intrepid Art Collector: The Beginner's Guide to Finding, Buying and Appreciating Artwork Budget*, will help the average Joe at least get a baby one in the market. Hunter, who lives in Montreal, is an art journalist and former editor at the *American Museum of Natural History*. "First of all," she said in a recent interview, "there's nothing embarrassing about having a poster hanging in your living room. I'm all for people having posters to face their art to buy. They're a great way to know what you're going to want to live with."

For someone who loves van Gogh and wants more than a mass-produced poster, Hunter suggests buying authentic Japanese prints, an art form that profoundly affected the Dutch artist. "Japanese prints were originally intended as inexpensive decoration for the common people," writes Hunter. "That's why an impressionist artist like Van Gogh could afford them. Today, Japanese

prints are highly collectible and still affordable." Hunter notes that an authentic Japanese print can be purchased for as little as \$50.

Whether you're buying prints, an Oriental rug or contemporary art, Hunter emphasizes the importance of buying from a dealer who will, wherever possible, provide proper documentation of the work's provenance, and perhaps most importantly, refund your money if you discover you've been sold a fake. Get everything in writing, she advises. "Don't assume that forgeries happen only in the multi-million-dollar part of the art world. Fakes are common in the lower price range because collectors are more likely to be careless."

In the case of least sculpture, one quick way to spot a knock-off is if the seller is displaying identical figures. Real sculptures are of a kind. Also, the reproductions are often made from recycled synthetics. The genuine article is carved from stone and feels cool to the touch. Hunter's book also covers Native American art. "A Navajo blanket holds the record for the most expensive treasure ever uncovered on Antiques Roadshow, selling an estimated half million dollars. Be careful, though," she writes. "Many of the Navajo rugs you see for sale are fakes made in Mexico. A typical Navajo rug doesn't have any fringes. The majority of Mexican fakes [do]."



MOST IMPROVED TOM PETTY

If you ever see the scrawny rocker around, you can bet he's a little easier. The police have taken away his firearms. They moved in after the otherwise laid-back star was found shooting at fans. He did so, he explained, to relieve stress. Petty told an interview last week, "There were times when I'd just start shooting. Not at people, but I'd go out and kill a tree. So it was the right thing to have the guns taken away. They're dangerous."

Sinus relief at night. Sinus relief during the day. Have we overlooked anything?





ROBERT CARTWRIGHT

1938-2006

A skilled pilot, he just missed being on the Yankee pitcher's plane that crashed into an NYC building

Robert Cartwright was born in Los Angeles on Feb. 3, 1938. His father, also named Robert, owned a service station and his mother, Agnes, worked for an airline maintenance. Before they divorced, the couple had three sons: Frank, the baby, recalls how his older brother was a bit of a handful. "When Robert was 16, he built wings out of wood, climbed on the roof and jumped—he wanted to fly," says Frank, 64, explaining that "Superman was one of our heroes in those days."

After graduating from high school, Robert spent three years in the U.S. Army, which included a stint in Japan. While in uniform, he married Andrea Salasnick on April 11, 1958. The couple lived in Hollywood, Calif., and raised two daughters, Roberta and Deanna. In the early years, Andrea stayed home with the children and Robert managed bowling alleys—he later owned one (he was also quite skilled on the lanes and a proud member of the 106 Club).

Robert played the good cop with his daughters. "Dad loved the horses, so we'd often sneak over to the Hollywood Race Track together when we were little," says Roberta. Robert also had a unique strategy for dealing with boyfriends. "When guys stuck up my dad's backseat window, we'd would hear them, arrive there in and make them stand witness," says Roberta. "They'd be so busy laughing out with any idea they'd forget about her. It drove her crazy."

The family moved to Palmdale, Calif., where Robert bought a Texaco service station, and later worked as a mechanic for several car dealerships. In the 1970s, he and his brother took flying lessons—Robert was the only one of the three who earned a license. Then, about 10 years ago, when the children had moved out, Robert and Andrea moved to the tiny town resort town of Sagunto, Calif. Robert couldn't fly—a work-related accident left him with a physical limp and poor flexibility—but he loved being near Big Bear Lake.

After his father-in-law died, Robert and his wife used some of her inheritance money to start Mountain Satellite, a satellite-TV installation business, in the early '90s. "They didn't have a clue what they were doing," says Roberta. "My dad just loved television." And yet, they built the tiny company into the No. 3 satellite installation company in the U.S. before selling it a decade later.

Robert and Andrea lived modestly—their only personal indulgence being ocean cruises. Robert's favorite was the voyage through the Panama Canal, a trip he and Andrea took three times. He worked tirelessly for the community—which included several years on the board of directors with the Big Bear City Community Service Department (BSCSD)—and gave generously to local charities.

Sharing Robert's passion for flying was Rod Watson, BSCSD's general manager. "We rarely talked politics after he was no longer on the board," says Rod. "He only wanted to talk about the Kawasaki—for him, that meant flying and flying." The two met occasionally for lunch, which often included quick trips to Las Vegas or Laughlin, Nev. "When I call a hundred-dollar hamburger—any excuse to go flying," says Rod. "You don't even need to eat lunch when you get there."

Robert owned a high-powered Cessna 441B Golden Eagle. Heavily problems, however, required that he hire a personal pilot to run the controls of his beloved twin engine aircraft. For a couple of years, Tyler Stangor, who ran a nearby flight school, was Robert's regular pilot. But on Oct. 11, Tyler and New York Yankee pitcher Cory Lidle died when they crashed into an Upper East Side apartment about Cory's plane. Tyler had invited Robert and Rod to a Yankee playoff game against Detroit that week, but they couldn't make it due to prior commitments. Rod says he and Robert would have likely been on Cory's plane if they had made the trip.

Although shaken by the loss, it didn't deter Robert from flying. He and his good friend Bob McNair, along with his new pilot, Dariusz Stokan, planned a Nov. 16 trip to Las Vegas—Robert loved playing Texas hold'em—and canceled Rod. "I cancelled the night before," says Rod. "I don't know why I just decided not to go." But he joined them for breakfast that windy Tuesday morning at the airport's restaurant (Robert always drank his coffee black and asked for extra butter with his toast). After a short visit, Rod headed to work, and his friends to Robert's plane. Soon after takeoff, the aircraft experienced problems (there wasn't a distress call, but witnesses reported seeing smoke and hearing loud noises). Mountain later, the plane crashed into a Big Bear Lake. Robert Cartwright and his two friends died instantly.

BY JOHN IVINS



For those who value attention to detail, the 2006 totally redesigned Nissan Altima. A 3.5L 270-hp V6 rated for high-occupancy performance. A sleek, aerodynamic, fuel-efficient Xtronic CVT™ Transmission. An advanced multi-sensor "Map System" without compromise. Advanced State of the Art Intelligent Key and fuel injection system. Given all that's gone into the new fully redesigned Nissan Altima, there's a lot to be said about being obsessed with the details.



SHIFT...CHASSIS



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